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The Week

IT matters very little whether the Turkish note, replica of Germany's just handed to our Government, represents Turkey's real intentions, or whether her new Grand Vizier purposes making a separate application for clemency to the Entente. Ominously enough for Tewfik Pasha, Mr. Wilson has announced that he will answer Austria and Turkey separately. Tewfik represents everything that was worst in Abdul Hamid's Turkey and the Turkey of the Young Turks. He acted as foreign minister to the man who prided himself on keeping peace in Europe by judicious use of atrocity. He was Grand Vizier in 1909, under the Young Turks, and is said to have superintended the Adana massacres. Old man that he now is, groomed to his present part, since the fall of 1914, professionally pro-Entente for just the present contingency, he can be but a screen for Talaat and Enver. But aside from any question of his independence or sincerity, Tewfik could in any event do nothing to save the Ottoman Empire intact. Even Djavid Bey, Minister of Finance in the old Cabinet, enlightened statesman and true patriot, opposed to the Armenian massacres, would be powerless. The slaughter of nearly one million Armenians, the terrible deportations of Arabs, Jews, and Ottoman Greeks, have made it impossible for civilized nations to leave any non-Turkish races under the rule of the Turks. Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Palestine, and Arabia must be lopped off the Empire and only Turkish Anatolia will remain. Ominous for Tewfik is the President's statement that he will answer Turkey separately. His lips have been sealed hitherto by consideration for the oppressed races exposed to wanton brutality of their Turkish rulers. But, with the seal removed, we may expect some excoriating denunciation from him.

THE lot of a "free and independent state" under Germany is not, apparently, a happy one. From the first Lithuania has tried to be good, but the German defenders of her freedom and independence have consistently refused to be satisfied. Lithuania wanted to be a republic; Germany demanded a monarchy. The Taryba, or State Council of Lithuania, elected under the control of the German army of occupation, chose as King Duke William of Urach, a younger son of the ruling house of Württemberg. By way of reward an official note was published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* declaring that Lithuania had no right to select kings without consulting Prussia, and that the Taryba had been improperly elected and did not represent the population. Every Lithuanian newspaper was ordered to publish the note on its first page. But Lithuania had learned the lesson that a free and independent Baltic province can do no right; every newspaper refused. A report from Switzerland recently received by the Lithuanian National Council at Washington gives the result of this action: ". . . The German military authorities have stopped the printing of these papers until they publish the note. The Lithuanian press, accustomed to these methods of coercion under the Russian rule, when they wanted to make them use Slavonic characters instead of the Latin, went on a strike which lasted forty years. They are expected to go on strike now till Prussian autocracy shall be crushed and Lithuania shall be delivered from the abuses of German military masters." Prussian autocracy seems to be hurrying towards its end, but in any case a people and a press that will carry on a strike for forty years for the right to use Latin characters may be counted upon to win a freedom that needs no protection under a foreign sword. Meanwhile the Duke of Urach has formally taken the throne and assumed the title of "Mindove II, King of Lithuania," recalling pleasantly the first Mindove, a heathen prince of the thirteenth century who won renown for his fierce resistance to the Teutons.

ON September 12, the voluntary recruiting campaign in Ireland, to which the British Government resorted in an effort to avoid Irish conscription, had produced only 5,000 of the 50,000 recruits demanded by October 1. Six weeks of the two months' campaign had passed, and it was thought impossible to obtain more than 3,000 additional recruits in the time remaining. Some of the difficulties were illustrated the other day by the sentencing to two months in prison of the recruiting sergeant at Newbridge, County Kildare. Wounded in the retreat from Mons, this sergeant not only failed to try to enlist men, but was actually drilling youths for the Sinn Fein army. More than that, he was also guilty of trying to win British soldiers to the Irish cause. Conscription was to have gone into effect on October 1; Lord French declared that he would enforce it on that very day if the 50,000 volunteers were not in hand. As nothing took place on October 1, Lloyd George is plainly temporizing and it is most earnestly to be hoped that the coming of peace will make the question of Irish conscription a dead issue and spare us much shedding of blood on Irish soil.

THE *Manchester Guardian* of September 14 gives in full the address of Sir Edward Holden on the occasion of the amalgamation of the London Joint Stock Bank with the London City and Midland Bank. The new London Joint City and Midland Bank will stand at the head of the British joint-stock banks, with deposits of £314,000,000, followed closely by Lloyds, with £300,000,000. The uniting of the two great London institutions which have now merged is but the latest in a series of amalgamations that have occasioned widespread comment and have led to much discussion of the possibility of a "money trust." Sir Edward Holden defends banking combination as a means of aiding in the restoration of industries after the war and of retaining the financial supremacy of London, though it cannot be said that he makes it altogether clear how amalgamation serves those ends, and his historical demonstration of its advantages leaves much to be desired. Mere bigness is no substitute for brains and honesty in banking or any other business, and the dangers of monopolistic control of credit are not to be overlooked, though it is not necessary to become hysterical over them, as some of our legislators have at times shown a tendency to do. Theoretically, of course, the more completely credit is centralized, the more perfectly

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can it function, but practically it is far from certain that the advantages of unlimited centralization outweigh its disadvantages, and in any case the problem of control over such a power is one of the greatest seriousness. The *Guardian*, viewing rather critically the conduct of British bankers, goes so far as to suggest that the country "must secure itself banking knowledge, power, and independence by establishing a State bank of the first magnitude."

THAT Mr. Gompers did not carry all before him in England is shown more clearly than ever by the detailed accounts of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in speaking of its results declared that "it was a strange mixture of good, of neutrality, and of evil." The American delegates, he declared, "lived in a world of their own." On the war "they were four years out of date, and on labor politics they were half a century out of date." He was delighted that the Americans had come in, but he was sure they knew that British labor knew its business quite as well as the Americans claimed to know theirs. Speaking on the same occasion—at the annual conference of the Scottish Labor party at Glasgow—Mrs. Philip Snowden was even more seditious towards Mr. Gompers. In her opinion the Conference was very largely a waste of time because of the necessity of educating the Americans; a whole week, she said, had been spent in discussing points that had been settled at the previous conference. None the less, she said, "they had taught the representatives of American labor that they did not own the earth and they had shown Mr. Gompers that there were at least two points of view—his and somebody else's."

JUDGING from the scraps of news which have appeared in American papers, the Australian censorship is erratic, tantalizing, and inconsistent. Beginnings of movements are reported; conclusions never appear. Particularly is this true of labor news. The one impression that must remain after a study of the dispatches is that the Australian labor movement is in its temper subversive, revolutionary, socialistic to a degree. The Sydney and Melbourne Trades Hall Councils decided to fly the red flag over their halls "every day in the week," against the urgent protests of Mr. Watts, acting Prime Minister. Several labor Senators issued an appeal to labor to vote in the negative on the proposal to make compulsory recruiting "conditional on an Allied offer of peace by negotiation." The pro-war group could not vote for it without committing themselves to an immediate offer of a negotiated peace; pacifists, without agreeing to conditional conscription. The result of the appeal has not yet been reported. A Directorate of War Propaganda has been established by the Federal Government in order to bring about "a cessation of the influences that were disquieting thinking men." Among such influences might well be included the programme presented for discussion at the Queensland Trades Union Congress at Brisbane, which demanded an armistice on all fronts pending peace by negotiation; inauguration of peace demonstrations; repeal of the War Precautions Act; repudiation of the war debt and the national debt. The resolution urged "that militaristic and imperialistic propaganda be deleted from public schools, and Esperanto and economics classes be introduced; that the Congress views with great alarm the teaching of the Bible and militarism in the state schools, and in the event of the schools continuing to teach myth, murder, and militarism, next year's Congress to consider the advisability of establishing modern schools on the lines of Francisco Ferrer's schools in Spain." How the Congress acted upon these proposals we are not yet informed. Probably the most significant hint of all appeared in the account, published over a month ago, of the Trades Union Congress at Sydney, representing more than a hundred unions, which enacted a detailed scheme for converting the entire labor movement of Australia into one industrial union built on the lines of the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States. The proposal went through with no apparent opposition and was submitted for ratification to the other state congresses and labor executives of Australia. Again the results have not been reported. When the whole story of Australian labor in war time comes to hand, it may appear that a comprehensive revolution has already passed into history.

THE October report brought to a hungry world what was, on the whole, good news. A wheat yield of 919,000,000 bushels exceeds last year's production by almost half, though it is short of the record crop of 1915. Reasonable economy of consumption ought to enable us to contribute at least 300,000,000 bushels to meet the desperate need of Europe. Bad weather during the last part of the season cut the corn crop below the average of the last ten years, but fortunately oats show the third largest crop on record, and rye, barley, and potatoes have all turned out well. With indications of the end of the war, there have been sharp breaks in grain prices, and if peace should actually come, there would be serious temptation for us, amid our comparative plenty, to forget the grave situation that confronts the world, though the new and more stringent regulations of the Food Administration should serve as a reminder. Of detailed conditions in the Central Empires we know little, but we are too well assured that underfeeding is resulting in high mortality among children and old persons. Great Britain, France, Italy, and the European neutrals are rationed strictly. Under existing military and political conditions, Russia faces a famine of unprecedented extent, despite good crops in Siberia. An Associated Press dispatch reports that infant mortality in Petrograd has already risen to fifty per cent. and that the peasants in some districts have organized bands of armed men to resist efforts to take their grain from them. Starvation has been rampant in the Near East, and the Japanese rice riots have reminded us that conditions are serious in the Mikado's realm.

THE *Nation* has been obliged to criticise Postmaster-General Burleson so frequently and so sharply in connection with the administration of the Post Office censorship and the degeneration of the mail service that it is a peculiar pleasure to call attention to the broad position he has taken in the negotiations with the telephone and telegraph companies for the taking over of their lines by the Government. Both President Vail, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and President Carlton, of the Western Union, declare, to quote the words of the former, that they were met by the Postmaster-General "in a spirit of absolute fairness and with an earnest desire to preserve the service to the public, and preserve the property for the proprietors as well as to give them established returns on their securities." We have not in hand the data for judging whether the Post Office authorities have been over-generous in dealing with the wire companies, but we

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are prepared to believe Mr. Vail's statement "that the whole basis of negotiation on both sides was to ask no more than was right, to grant all that was right, and to protect a great property and a great service to the public in every possible way." That Mr. Burleson favors permanent Federal operation of the wire lines is well known, but apparently he has not allowed his ideas to lead him into any attempt to bludgeon the companies, and he seems to have been met by them in a fair spirit.

THE semi-annual circulation figures of the New York city newspapers, awaited with special interest this fall because the past six months constituted the first half-yearly period throughout which they sold at two cents, reveal some interesting facts. The first is that the *Tribune*, despite its blatant jingoism and still more blatant "patriotism," shows a distinct decrease. It has lost six thousand copies a day since April 1 last and eleven thousand since October 1, 1917, selling only 89,478 copies a day on an average, as against 100,551, which was itself a loss over 1916. Apparently, abusing everybody who does not agree with you and charging everybody who does not share your opinions with pro-Germanism does not meet with a wide popular response, for the *Tribune* now sells fewer papers than any other daily in Manhattan except the *Evening Post*, which has shown a daily gain of 12,000 copies in the year. It is only fair to say, however, that every other newspaper has also shown a loss with the exception of the *Times*, which is now selling 368,000 copies a day, or 11,000 more than a year ago. Mr. Ochs's paper has even overtaken the *World* and now has the largest circulation in New York with the exception of the Hearst papers. Since going to two cents the *World* has lost 61,000 readers, while the *American*, Hearst's morning newspaper, which has been so violently attacked by the *Tribune* and the Defence Society, has lost only 67,000.

AS was to be expected, the greatest drop is in the circulation of Hearst's *Evening Journal*. In twelve months it has gone down from 808,000 copies to 657,912. Naturally this newspaper, circulating as it does among the poorest citizens, was bound to be most affected by the one hundred per cent. increase in the price. The *Evening World*, which is its chief rival, in the same period lost 107,000 readers, which again shows that the charges of disloyalty against Hearst have not had a very significant effect on the sales of his papers. The *Herald*, which once had the largest circulation in New York, has shrunk from 130,000 to 108,000. Both of Mr. Munsey's papers, the morning and evening *Sun*, have lost readers, the former selling only 117,807 copies. The eagerness with which these figures have been awaited in newspaper circles is in part due to a belief that a further increase in price cannot long be postponed if the war continues, or if the after-the-war conditions should limit the paper supply. It is accepted that the price of news print, which has just been fixed on appeal at $3.50 a hundred pounds, will go to $4 next year, an almost ruinous price, for the cost of labor and supplies has risen enormously in this as in all other industries, and there is no increase in advertising to offset these increased costs in any degree. On the contrary, advertising is shrinking as one industry after another is taken over by the Government or devotes itself more and more to Government work. Thus, there is no more railway advertising, no more steamship advertising, and the lucrative automobile advertising must almost disappear in view of the restriction of the automobile makers to 25 per cent. of their normal product for private consumption. This situation is bound to lead to further consolidations and to suspensions of the weaker newspapers.

THE creation last week of the Nurses' Emergency Council to meet the influenza situation in New York was a proof of the degree to which a great modern community is capable of rapid organization. With extraordinary speed there was accomplished a pooling of the resources of practically all the public-health nursing organizations in the city, both public and private, bringing together the Salvation Army, the Catholic nursing sisterhoods, the social service department of Mount Sinai hospital, the Colored Training School for Nurses, the Red Cross, and the Mayor's Committee for National Defence. Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Nurses' Settlement is chairman, and Miss Cornelia Doty was released by Teachers College to act as secretary. Within twenty-four hours the Council had arranged a clearing house at 389 Fifth Avenue, connected by special wire with the Department of Health; had mobilized an automobile service for carrying nurses, and had organized the provision of fluid diet to be distributed in institutions and homes. Volunteers have already begun to come forward and as the need is better understood more will do so. Clerical work, telephoning, and nurses' aid work are as essential as actual nursing.

HOW long will it be before the public wakes up to the seriousness of the situation in the schools? From all parts of the country come complaints of the scarcity of teachers, of overcrowded classrooms, of schools consolidated or closed because no one can be found to take charge of them. In New York city 800 schoolrooms are reported to be without teachers. High schools in New England which even last year were greatly under-staffed are said to be starting the year with only one-half or one-fourth of the old teachers back. Much the same conditions exist in the colleges and universities, and at the same time, as it happens, that militarization of the higher institutions has immensely increased attendance. The public, meantime, knows perfectly well what the reason is for the shortage of teachers. The salaries of public-school teachers and of the lower grades of college instructors have long been, and still are, so wretchedly small as to bear no rational relation to the cost of living; while the unstable conditions of tenure, the favoritism and intermeddling of politics, and the arbitrary methods of administrative officials have gone far, in connection with the inadequate salaries, to rob teaching of its interest as a career. As a result, thousands of teachers have already left the schools for more remunerative employment in other occupations, and thousands more are fitting themselves as rapidly as possible to follow the example. What is more, the teachers who are needed to recruit the annual loss due to death or retirement, not to speak of the requirements of a rapidly growing population, are not in sight. The result is that to-day, with the demand for sound and practical education greater than ever, the supply of teachers is suffering a sharp decline both absolutely and relatively; while the quality of teaching, due to the loss of experienced teachers, the bringing in of untrained, inexperienced, or mediocre substitutes, and the employment of an excessive proportion of immature young women, is everywhere being lowered. There is only one remedy, and that is to pay adequate salaries and make the schools democratic.

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The Progress Towards Peace

SUCH we consider the three steps taken by President Wilson and the German Chancellor in the last seven days—progress towards peace. From the bulk of our fellow-citizens, who see in the President's second reply only war *à l'outrance*, we differ completely. The President has not closed the door; the long-distance negotiations or exchanges of opinion are certain to continue. Germany, if her plight is so serious as to induce her to swallow the President's fourteen peace terms with their vagueness as to Alsace-Lorraine, must continue with President Wilson the negotiations looking towards a settlement. That she will find it difficult to comply with his demand that the U-boats be called off and that the stripping and often wanton ravaging and burning of evacuated territory cease forthwith, goes without saying. But having herself imposed the harshest terms at Brest-Litovsk, Germany knows full well the bitter cup of which the vanquished must drink. Nothing, we are sure, will appeal to the American public as much as this insistence that atrocities on sea and land shall cease. The latest sea-horrors, the drowning of women from a Japanese vessel, the shelling and drowning of all but a few of the helpless crew of an American transport, and the sinking of a militarily insignificant Irish mail-boat with the loss of more than 300 lives—these are things that ought to cease in the name of common decency.

Yet, while we can heartily sympathize with the humanitarian impulse that distinguishes this portion of Mr. Wilson's message; while we feel that in the main, our jingoes to the contrary notwithstanding, the President is headed neither for war to the bitter end nor for a war of revenge, we cannot deny our disappointment at the lack of generosity and of definiteness in the second reply. Even when U. S. Grant insisted on unconditional surrender, he did it gracefully and generously; he handed back Lee's sword; he let the private soldier take his horse and rations with him. Wicked and barbarous as the German foe has been, no nation ever showed magnanimity and generosity without thereby adding to its own stature and increasing the humiliation of the enemy. What we should have liked to see in the President's answer is what might be called the "categorical imperative"—a clear-cut statement of exactly the points, a, b, c, d, in which the German answer was unsatisfactory and, 1, 2, 3, 4, what Germany must do to obtain peace. Sooner or later our terms must be definitely stated.

We are the more concerned about this because of the reactions from the President's second note. The jingoes whose praise Mr. Wilson ought to shun like poison are as sure now that he is their own as they were certain last week that he was to be abused as Mr. Roosevelt and the New York *Tribune* promptly abused him. Some Liberals see great hope and encouragement in the President's reply. This may be a tribute to the President's ability to please everybody on occasion, but it is extremely dangerous. Never before was Woodrow Wilson in so difficult a position; it is the crisis of his world leadership and of his moral influence which confronts him. His tremendous skill and ability are put to the completest test. The more regrettable is it, therefore, that there was vagueness in the second note which may return to plague him—as have returned upon Republican lips the vaguenesses of his peace terms.

Take, for instance, the final passage calling attention to the sentence in his Fourth of July address in which he laid down as one of the terms of peace: "The destruction of every arbitrary power everywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world." As to this Mr. Wilson now says:

> The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter. It is indispensable that the governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

What does this mean? Jingo newspapers are interpreting it as the abdication of the Kaiser; others take a different view. Would it not be fair to those who have already brought about an amazing revolution in Germany by the admission of Socialists to the Cabinet and the establishment of a responsible ministry to tell them just what more is needed? How much of an interference in the inner concerns of Germany is actually intended? Mr. Wilson has already said of the United States: "She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people" (February 11, 1918). He has gone further: "Neither do we presume to suggest to her [Germany] any alteration or modification of her institutions" (January 8, 1918). Has the policy changed? If so, let us know it. Again, as to arbitrary power which may plunge a country into war. That power exists in every nation. Mr. Wilson used it at Vera Cruz; England has seen it exercised on numerous occasions. Would what Mr. Wilson has in mind be met by the Kaiser's divesting himself of the power to make war, which divesting so reliable an authority as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* declares to be coming? Do we not owe it to ourselves to define the "character of the guarantees" which we ask? Do we not otherwise run the risk of seeing the progressive German elements who are fighting our fight swept off their feet by a feeling that their country is being paltered with and that there is nothing left but to die in the last ditch? Is it not true that a hundred thousand American lives may hang upon this question of definiteness or indefiniteness?

Finally, we can only echo what we said last week, that a peace, honorable, just, definitive—one to satisfy all true Americans whose souls are not corroded with bitterness and hate and all those abroad as well who have fought the good fight—is in reach if we but desire it. We must not forget to think of those abroad, we who are still so fresh, so young in the war, so eager for sacrifice. Side by side with the quotations from Lord Northcliffe and the bitter-ender newspapers which the Associated Press carried on Monday of this week is this touching picture of last Sunday in London: "London streets, parks, and public places were crowded with people to-day. The crowds had an almost festive aspect. Such cheerfulness has long been unknown here. The people believe peace is near, and that it is peace with victory." Are these high hopes to be disappointed? In its issue of September 28, just received, the London *Nation*, commenting upon Senator Lodge's bitter-end speech, says that if his conditions are to prevail Germany and Austria "will, of course, resist their doom to the last. And we must remind Mr. Lodge that this Armageddon of his is to be fought out in Europe, not in America, and we, not he, will live amid the ruins it will have left us."

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Politics and Reconstruction

THE proposal made by Senator Weeks of Massachusetts to entrust the investigation of reconstruction problems to a joint committee of members of Congress, chosen in equal proportions by the Republican and Democratic caucuses of the Senate and House, respectively, recalls the famous Joint Committee on Reconstruction which figured so largely, and in some important particulars so disastrously, in American history during the years immediately following the Civil War. There is, of course, the important difference that the earlier committee was intentionally and notoriously a partisan body, created for the express purpose of formulating a reconstruction programme which would be acceptable to the then dominant Republican majority, while the Weeks committee is intended to be a bi-partisan body committed in advance to no programme whatever. The two plans are at one, however, in viewing the task of reconstruction as a Congressional function, and in implying, by their assertion of legislative prerogative, a distrust of the President and a willingness to checkmate him.

Now that the question is fairly before the country of how a reconstruction programme, whatever it is to be, shall be carried out, it is instructive to recall the situation which presented itself at the close of the Civil War. The South, as a result of the war, was socially disorganized and politically and economically prostrate. Not only was there need to rebuild the shattered structure of social life in the States which had been defeated in their attempt to secede, but those States themselves, as organized political units, had also to be restored to their constitutional place as members of the Union. To Lincoln, the reëstablishment of normal conditions in the South appeared to be an executive task, a proper extension of his authority as commander-in-chief into the period of disorder and reorganization which the war had entailed. It was for the President to supervise the process of rehabilitation, and to present the States, clothed and in their right mind, to Congress for renewed recognition. Whatever the lawyers might argue concerning their constitutional status, whether conquered provinces or areas with the memory but not the substance of Statehood, they were, in Lincoln's view, rightfully in his charge until they should recover the political character under which alone Congress could deal with them.

The long and bitter political struggle between Congress and the President which followed Lincoln's first attempt, as early as 1863, to bring back the Southern States into the Union, had more than one cause. Many felt that Lincoln was inclined to treat the South too generously and to make the terms of restoration dangerously easy. In the case of President Johnson, whose theory of reconstruction differed from Lincoln's more in method than in constitutional substance, there was added distrust and eventually hatred of the man. The determination to enfranchise the Negroes and reap the political benefits of victory for the Republican party, crossed at every point the debates and procedure of Congress. At bottom, however, was the conviction, deepening in the minds of constitutional lawyers the more the problem was studied, that the supervision of the reconstruction process belonged of right, in the first instance at least, to Congress rather than to the President. Just as Congress is made, by the Constitution, responsible for the admission of States into the Union, so, it was believed, is Congress the body which should direct, through investigation and legislation, the steps in the attainment of the political condition in recognition of which the privileges of Statehood may properly be conferred.

What followed is a matter of history. The Republicans, embittered by the policy of Johnson and bent more upon achieving a party victory than upon restoring the South to a normal life, left the pressing problems of economic and social reconstruction to take care of themselves, and made reconstruction a narrow political issue. They thrust the ballot upon the Negro without doing anything to help him to use it intelligently, recognized some State Governments while refusing to recognize others, kept troops in the South for years after the President had officially declared that the war was at an end, perpetuated war taxes, surrendered to the demand for high protection, temporized with the currency, saddled the country with pensions, turned over the civil service to spoilsmen, intimidated the Supreme Court, and failed only by a narrow margin to impeach the President. The corruption which ran riot in American politics for a generation after the Civil War, and which makes the period to-day seem like a nightmare rather than a reality, was the direct outgrowth of the decision on the part of Congress to take the business of reconstruction into its own hands and administer it for partisan ends.

The task of reconstruction which now confronts the United States is many-fold greater and more complicated than that with which the nation had to deal in the years 1863-1877. There is scarcely an aspect of the national life which it does not touch. What is more, reconstruction not only follows close upon the heels of a great war which has involved pretty nearly the whole world, but it also comes in the midst of a period of social transformation which bids fair to leave no part of our political or economic life unaffected. If we are to escape the untoward experience which befell the country after the Civil War, it will only be through the abandonment at the outset of every attempt to set Congress over against the President or the President over against Congress, and by recognizing clearly the part which each of these two branches of the Federal Government is constitutionally entitled to play in putting the new national house in order.

The best approach to reconstruction would be, we think, through the creation of a commission of experts, appointed by the President under authority of an act of Congress, charged with the duty of investigating the various questions involved, and reporting its findings and recommendations to Congress through the President. Beyond the clearly limited steps in the demobilization of the army and navy which the President as commander-in-chief has the constitutional right to take, no authority should be given to the President to put into effect any of the recommendations of the commission until Congress has approved them and enacted the needful legislation. Such a plan would at the outset divide authority as it ought to be divided, and put legislative and executive responsibility where they severally belong. It would preserve to the President every proper executive or administrative power, at the same time that it would insure the full and open discussion in Congress which every measure affecting the welfare of the whole people ought always to receive. Moreover, it would help to make clear what has been too much lost sight of during the war, namely, that national policies, whatever interests they may affect, should be worked out by the harmonious coöperation of the President and Congress, not by direct or indirect usurpation of control on either side.

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Apartment or Cottage

A FORMER member of the architectural department of the London County Council, Mr. Alfred C. Bossom, in the *Architectural Record* for September, writes in praise of the housing projects of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. In addition he raises the important question as to what is the best type of housing for workingmen in the future. Now that the Government has taken in hand the task of providing shelter for war workers, old housing problems are being attacked from a new angle and with a new chance of effective action. It is necessary to decide the important question brought up by Mr. Bossom, and it will be no less essential to fix the terms of occupancy, and to adjust the relations of the Government to the properties when the war is over.

The old assumption that the ideal thing for the worker is to own his own home has long been undermined by the fluidity of modern employment conditions. Associated ownership, either public or coöperative, seems to be the solution of this problem. The plan of tenant copartnership, which combines practical ownership of the individual home with freedom from responsibilities of actual personal ownership, and pools increases or decreases in real-estate values, has had some degree of success in England and on the Continent. It has attracted curiously little attention here, partly, no doubt, because of the general backwardness of the coöperative movement.

As association in some form appears to be the solution of the problem of ownership, so also does the tendency seem to be towards some type of multiple dwelling. The economies of the composite house are so great and the conveniences of apartment life so alluring that the individual house finds competition difficult. Mr. Ernest Flagg gave the classic demonstration of the folly and waste of individualistic planning when he showed that if instead of building five houses, each on a lot 20 x 100, one building were put up on the same area, it would house more people better at less expense, and at the same time would provide a large open court securing air and light to every room. Mr. Bossom contends that the best type of housing for the conditions under consideration is an arrangement of properly planned and grouped apartment houses with intervening blocks of open space. "It is practically impossible," he says, "to find an individual or even a two-family house" in the new English schemes for housing war workers.

The plan proposed by Mr. Bossom calls for two-story apartment buildings, each providing for eight or nine families. In this way one hundred and four families could be housed on a piece of ground 200 x 600, such as would accommodate only sixty families in two-family houses, each occupying a forty-foot lot. These one hundred and four apartments of four, five, or six rooms, with bath, kitchen, and private entrance, would be contained in perhaps a dozen buildings dotted around their block in an hour-glass outline, with breaks and angles, and surrounding an ornamental garden space in the middle. Alternating with such built-up blocks would come first a block of allotment gardens and then a playground block, each 150 x 600, so that each group of apartment houses would have on one side an allotment garden and on the other a playground. On the basis of this ingenious arrangement, each family, though provided with air and light in every room and with playground and garden space, would occupy only the equivalent of a lot slightly more than 20 x 100. We are told nothing of the probable cost and consequent rents of this sort of construction. A model housing scheme steers between a cheapness that leaves it the reverse of model and an expensiveness that puts it beyond the reach of those for whom it was intended. The question of the land is also somewhat cavalierly disposed of. Mr. Bossom calculates that it accounts for only five per cent. of the total cost. Obviously this depends entirely on the locality. Are the buildings to be erected in town or country, in districts central or remote?

The provision of so much free space is excellent. The difficulty in practice will be to safeguard it from economic pressure, whether from rent profiteers or from families of small income, and to induce tax authorities to favor and not to penalize it, without at the same time encouraging land speculation. If this could be accomplished, apartment homes would certainly offer many attractions, especially if they could be made to provide not only the obvious conveniences of this type of dwellings, but also privacy and the pleasant accessories promised by Mr. Bossom. He is probably correct in thinking that an apartment-house scheme would be easier to finance than a project for a series of individual dwellings, and he is probably right, too, in his conviction, formed after talking "with workers and their families in most of the States extending from Texas to the Canadian border," that the desire for individual houses is less than is commonly supposed. Yet to the man of sentiment, William Penn's earlier vision of a city of homes, each "set in the breadth of his grounds," calls up something that cannot be relin uished without deep regret.

Art Education and Technical Training

IN the August number of the *American Magazine of Art*, Mr. Joseph Pennell published "An Open Letter to the Art Teachers of America," in which he pointed out the total lack of facilities for the study of the graphic arts in this country. Comment upon this letter has been widespread, showing that the need is not only great, but keenly felt. Art teachers, directors of art, presidents of societies, have written to different papers, not to dispute Mr. Pennell's statement, though they may disagree with his details, but rather to support and amplify his argument.

Dr. Haney, director of art in the New York high schools, in "An Open Letter to the Manufacturers of America" (published in the October *American Magazine of Art*), says: "We do teach the graphic arts ill. Mr. Pennell is absolutely right. But we teach the other industrial arts no better." When there were fewer art schools, the student went to France or Germany, or he wandered into workshops and printing establishments and learned his trade for himself. The multiplication of art schools has encouraged him to believe that he can now learn everything in them. But so ill-equipped are they, so ill-adapted for any practical purpose, that there he must learn to draw for reproduction without ever seeing an engraver's block, a lithographer's stone, or a printing press; he may study etching with a professor of that art who has never bitten a plate.

It is useless to lay the blame on the fact that we are a democracy, that the schools are a reflection of the people and cannot be better than they now are until the people

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want to have them better. It is foolish to find a reason in the greater attention we give to painting and sculpture than to the industrial or minor arts. In the periods we like to call artistic, painting and sculpture received greater, if that means more personal, attention. We know the names of most of the artists who covered the interior of the churches of Europe with frescoes and filled their aisles and chapels with tombs and monuments, but of few of the craftsmen who gave to the windows their splendor of color and to the choir stalls their loveliness of carving, who set up the wonderful gates and grilles at the choir door and made the stone walls to blossom as the rose. For the one illustrator, the one illuminator, the one engraver who has survived as a personality, innumerable others have disappeared save in their work. We have no record of the designers of the stuffs and laces, the porcelain and pottery that are the pride of the world's industrial museums. But even if more logical scapegoats were to be found, the teachers of the day cannot be altogether exonerated. If they know the present system of teaching to be wrong, they should refuse to teach until it has been made right.

How it can be made right does not seem a problem beyond solution. Dr. Haney has gone out of his way to hand it over to the manufacturer, "the natural supporter of the industrial school," since it should supply his demand and he could spur on the students by prizes and scholarships. But in this case the last state of industrial art would be worse than the first, for it would degenerate into the slave of the manufacturer; our art schools have shown us how little good comes of the kind of patronage Dr. Haney recommends. It was not by prizes and scholarships that pupils mastered their trades in the great workshops and studios of Florence and Venice. Some manufacturers, however, seem to have a clearer vision in the matter. They are said to have taken their part in obtaining, by the Hughes-Smith bill, the promise of State and Federal aid for our industrial schools.

It is nothing less than public support for such schools that is needed, and the controversy has returned, if by tortuous ways and opposing theories, to where it started in Mr. Pennell's letter. We cannot share his advocacy of a national industrial art school, which, to many as to him, appears the true remedy for the evil, though the experiment would be far from daring or unprecedented. Not only France and Great Britain have shown the way, but Germany even more thoroughly. After the war is over we shall be compelled to compete with Germany industrially, and our artists and craftsmen under present conditions would find this impossible. There are well-conducted, well-equipped, State-subsidized schools of industrial art in most of the important German towns, and in Leipzig there is a school of graphic arts—a real workshop to which admission is obtained by diplomas from an ordinary art school and a high school. When our business men realize the value that art adds to industry, they will understand the folly of the attempt to compete industrially with Germany—with Europe—until we get rid of our amateur art education, our amateur art teachers, and our amateur artists. Before we can take our rightful place as a great industrial country, we also must have our great schools of industrial art, with all technical appliances and a staff of artists trained technically themselves, where students will be taught practically the crafts by which they contribute beyond measure both to the wealth of the nation and to the glory of American art.

A Praiseworthy Example

I feel myself dreadfully short in many ways. Our soldiers remain still exposed and our people are still in distress. In spite of the fact that I have had the support of good and able Ministers and loyal and brave brothers, I have failed to lead them to the right goal. For the sake of national welfare and people's happiness, the only thing for me to do is to retire from my post in favor of a more competent man.

THUS wrote the other day the President of the Chinese Republic, Feng Kuo-chang, in resigning from his high office. Was there ever a more astonishing or more touching bit of Oriental frankness and self-depreciation? When the whole world is trying to get rid of a job lot of rulers, and in many a country now piously engaged in safeguarding liberty and democracy a popular majority desires to dispense with its governors, here is one ruler who not only voluntarily abdicates, but who assumes all the blame for what is wrong. Plainly the Oriental is still too guileless to be permitted to govern himself.

We are aware that there will be those to say that Feng Kuo-chang is not guileless; that this is really stagecraft and duplicity; that he resigned to save his bacon. For ourselves, we have no doubts whatever; only a character both honest and notably just with itself could act thus. But even if we err, we are clear that here is a bit of Oriental statesmanship we wish adopted and widely imitated in Europe and America. There are so many office-holders we would have retire with equal candor and directness!

For instance, we should like to have Senator Lodge retire to Nahant with a statement like the following: "I do not understand the plain people of America and cannot properly represent them. I have been trying to lead the Republican party in the Senate, but the shades of my ancestors and the Senatorial mandarins with whom I serve bear witness to my failure. I have just made a mistake in not supporting the President's first reply to the German peace offer. For the sake of national welfare and the happiness of the people the only thing for me to do is to retire in favor of a more competent man." As for the Kaiser, how many hundreds of thousands would not willingly indite the farewell lines the world still hopes to read soon: "Having plunged all mankind into deepest misery; being convinced now that there is no such thing as the divine right of kings; feeling myself dreadfully short in many ways while our soldiers remain still exposed and our people are still in distress, I, Wilhelm, hereby abdicate." (Amen.)

There is Governor Whitman. He, too, could withdraw gracefully just now. "Realizing," he might write, "how utterly I have failed to measure up to the stature of a Governor of the Empire State, feeling deeply my unwisdom and my inability to be worthy of the gods who have heretofore smiled upon us, with proper regard for my ancestors and my descendants to the eighth generation, I hereby retire from the race for Governor to make way for a better man such as may be found on any hand." The Mayor of New York, also, and his brother the Mayor of Chicago, would need to produce no arguments to prove their unfitness; joy at their resigning would be universal. Then there is the Post Office Department. For Messrs. Burleson and Lamar we could write without a tear a most touching farewell to public life, with a thousand arguments to prove how patriotically they made way for men of demonstrated fitness for their duties. But we forbear.

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An Apostle of Pure Science

By DAVID TODD

OCTOBER 16 was the anniversary of a momentous event in the history of the human intellect. A very definite event, too, it was, an event of profound significance in the life of a genius—"a man of genius . . . in the most strict and exclusive sense—one of these extraordinary instances which are above every-day comparisons, and in fact furnish themselves the only standard by which they can be measured." These are the words of Professor Tait, of all men best qualified to speak of that brilliant genius, Sir William Hamilton—not the Englishman of that name noted for his patronage of art, not the Scotsman of the same name among the first in philosophy; but Sir William Rowan Hamilton, an Irishman, easily chief of the three, and a mathematician whose invention of the quaternion analysis is acknowledged perhaps the greatest of all discoveries in pure mathematics.

Hamilton was born in 1805 in Dublin and lived to the age of sixty. To his uncle, curate of Trim, he was indebted more than to any other for that intensive training which insured a thorough foundation for the massive superstructure of his own erection. The boy of four first draws attention irresistibly by the striking combination of childish frolicsomeness with the learning of wise minds. He was anything but mathematician: his early life is the story of amazing precocity, not of invention, but of acquisition. Nothing could have seemed more certain to those who knew the child than that middle life would easily insure him high rank as a linguist; for at five he was able to read and translate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; at eight he knew Italian and French; and before the age of ten his father wrote of him: "His thirst for the Oriental languages is unabated. He is now master of most, indeed of all except the minor and comparatively provincial ones. The Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic are about to be confirmed by the superior and intimate acquaintance with the Sanskrit, in which he is already a proficient. The Chaldee and Syriac he is grounded in, and the Hindoostanee, Malay, Mahratta, Bengali, and others. He is about to commence the Chinese." One of the youthful scholar's earliest productive efforts was the preparation of a little manuscript book of thirty pages, formally entitled "A Syriac grammar, in Syriac letters and characters." At fourteen, on occasion of the visit of the Persian Ambassador, Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, to Dublin, Hamilton wrote him a letter in Persian, of which the Minister is reported to have said that he had not believed there was a man in Britain who could have written such a document.

Up to that point, Hamilton seems to have had no marked disposition towards scientific studies. But on a visit to the observatory at Dunsink he had been fascinated by telescopic views of the planets, and at seventeen he began systematic study of Laplace. A year later he may be said to have found his mathematic self. Indeed, he expressed his belief that his experience with Zerah Colburn, the famous American calculating boy, first decisively turned his attention towards the science of numbers. The two had engaged in trials of arithmetic skill when Hamilton was only twelve; but two years later they met again, the Dublin antagonist being rather critic and investigator of the methods of the gifted computist. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of this occurrence.

Hamilton's brilliant college career had not been completed when he was unanimously elected Andrews professor of astronomy in the University of Dublin and royal astronomer of Ireland—an extraordinary preference for an undergraduate, who had for competitors men of high standing and eminence in two universities. His appointment under these circumstances involved another exceptional event: by the donor's direction, the professor of astronomy is one of the examiners for Bishop Law's prize, a yearly award in the higher mathematics among candidates of junior bachelor standing. Within a few days of his appointment, the new occupant of the chair of astronomy was called upon to take part in the examination, an undergraduate thus officially examining graduates in the highest branches of mathematics.

To the wisdom of the university board of electors are due the perpetual thanks of mathematicians for their prompt recognition of the true sphere of Hamilton's intellectual activity. Later, this board more than doubled his salary and completely defined his future relations to the university, giving him entire liberty to pursue, as a first object, his mathematical researches, and thus assuming the responsibility of his continuing as mathematician rather than astronomer.

One of Hamilton's splendid achievements was the theoretical discovery of conical refraction; and in the history of physics he is chiefly known by this. Its prompt confirmation by Dr. Lloyd, in the laboratory of Dublin University, tended strongly to heighten the dignity of this discovery, and it was characterized in terms of extravagant applause by the great physicists of that day. But Hamilton himself, with the unaffected simplicity of genius, described it to Coleridge as a "subordinate and secondary result." The discovery had no parallel in the history of exact science, and is appropriately classed with that prediction of Neptune which has immortalized the names of Adams and Le Verrier. All through his life and in his letters, Hamilton's clear vision of scientific truth is constantly illustrated. Of statics he says: "The *whole* of what we call *statics* is really a part of dynamics, except in books; there being no such thing as *rest* in the world, unless (by a bare possibility) in the centre of gravity of the universe." And earlier, with regard to his discovery of conical refraction, on Dr. Haughton's saying that he had converted at least a score of mathematicians by *showing* them the cone of light, Hamilton laughingly remarked: "How different from me! If I had *seen* it only, I should not have believed it. My eyes have too often deceived me. I believe it because I have *proved* it."

Hamilton's life was characterized by great metaphysical as well as mathematical activity; his letters show this, especially in connection with the philosophy of Kant. Metaphysics was indeed his favorite diversion, and Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Berkeley, and Coleridge, an intimate friend and spirited correspondent, furnished him much matter for keen thought. He pushed to full development the theory of algebra, which was no doubt the legitimate outcome of

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his metaphysical speculations, his main idea being that as geometry, considered as a science, is founded upon the pure intuition of space, so algebra, as a science, is founded upon the pure intuition of time. While many of his friends whose judgment he most esteemed were unable to accept this view, he adhered to it with the tenacity of deep conviction. None of them seemed to catch or at least to adopt it. He divides students of algebra into three schools, which he denominates the practical, the philological, and the theoretical, according as they view algebra as an art, or a language, or a science. The difficulties and absurdities of the ordinary systems he removes in his own metaphysical yet thoroughly lucid manner, providing a key to the solution of those troubles which beset every algebraist who ventures on independent thought. His intuitions were recognized and trusted by himself, even if not always by others. He somewhere says: "To my particular constitution of mind, a mathematic theory presents even more of the intense unity of 'the energy of a living spirit' than the work of a poet or an artist."

We come now to the event which rewarded his search through many years, and which has given Hamilton his highest title to scientific fame: the discovery of quaternions. Outside of the mathematicians, few people have even the remotest idea what the system of quaternions is, but those who are familiar with the method of Cartesian coördinates, in which the axes of reference are always understood as having fixed directions in space, may be able to obtain an inkling of quaternions, if they understand this new calculus to be a generalized method of coördinates, in which the axes of reference may have any direction whatsoever. The word quaternion itself etymologically signifies a "set of four," its derivation being doubtless connected in Hamilton's mind with the tetractys of Pythagoras. Here is Sir William's dramatic relation of the unique discovery:

> Quaternions started into life, or light, full grown, on Monday the 16th of October, 1843, as I was walking with Lady Hamilton to Dublin, and came up to Brougham Bridge, which my boys have since called the Quaternion Bridge. That is to say, I then and there felt the galvanic circuit of thought *close*, and the sparks which fell from it were the *fundamental equations between i, j, k; exactly such* as I have used them ever since. I pulled out on the spot a pocket-book, which still exists, and made an entry on which, *at the very moment*, I felt that it might be worth my while to expend the labour of at least ten (or it might be fifteen) years to come. But then it is fair to say that this was because I felt a *problem* to have been at that moment *solved* — an intellectual want relieved — which had *haunted* me for at least *fifteen years before. Less than an hour* elapsed before I had asked and obtained leave of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, of which Society I was, at that time, the President—to *read* at the *next General Meeting* a *Paper* on Quaternions; which I accordingly *did*, on November 13, 1843.

Five years later Hamilton delivered his first lectures on the new calculus in Trinity College. Such men as Salmon and Cayley were among his hearers. The years immediately following were well filled with the preparation of his great work, the "Lectures on Quaternions." Final publication in 1853 was to Hamilton the event, not of that year only, but of his whole life.

Hamilton's industry was severe, and many times extended beyond twelve hours at a single sitting. Indeed, late in life his diligence was excessive, interfering with his sleep, his meals, his exercise, and his social enjoyments; at last it became fatally injurious to his health. No less remarkable is that method with which he performed all his work; the number, magnitude, and importance of his published works show this. There was no minute care, even in matters of typographical nicety, which he disdained to expend upon them. And in his manuscript books, carefully written, and with dates marking from day to day the progress of his scientific life, he recorded all his introspective meditations, all the calculations through which he passed in his apparently fruitless, as well as his most successful, researches. These volumes, many of them very large, and numbering about sixty, are deposited in the Library of Trinity College. Of labor, Hamilton himself says, "I have very long admired Ptolemy's description of his great astronomical master Hipparchus, as ἀνὴρ φιλόπονος καὶ φιλαλήθης, 'a labor-loving and truth-loving man'—Be such my epitaph!"

Oddly enough, mere arithmetic rather refreshed than fatigued him, and his computational results were often pushed to the last limit (once in particular, as a sort of rivalry with De Morgan, to the twenty-eighth decimal); and at another time, an exciting occasion, he speaks of keeping himself "in a cold bath of mathematics all the morning," that he might come to the subject as calmly as possible.

Despite Hamilton's power of work there were times when he exercised it by fits and starts; and there were intervals of comparative inaction. His papers were in most picturesque confusion, and even the slightest interference with them would throw him into a "good, honest, thundering passion." In matters of right and wrong he was very simple-minded. When differences arose, it was not he and others who differed, but *his* opinions and the opinions of *others;* his tolerance was perfect. "He thought much of the comfort of others," said Professor De Morgan, "and lightly of his own. When some house-breakers were caught on the premises, and detained until they could be carried before a magistrate, he amused his family by directing that the felons should be asked whether they preferred milk or tea for breakfast."

He by no means confined his energies, and the overflow took an odd turn now and then—at one time in devising his Icosian game, the copyright of which was sold to Mr. Jaques, of Piccadilly, for the sum of £25, the only pecuniary reward ever accruing directly from any discovery or publication of his.

Hamilton was fond of teaching, partly from a genuine desire to impart knowledge (often, however, to those incapable of receiving it), and partly from a recognized necessity of "throwing his mind into a didactic attitude," in order that he might put the result of laborious analysis into the best form for communication. Before presenting a paper to the Academy, it was his invariable habit to lecture an audience consisting usually of his son and Thompson, the assistant in the observatory. "It was very amusing," writes his son, "to watch Thompson—whose ideas moved slowly, and who could only go a very small way in the subject—standing by, spectacled and owlish, and chiming in with an occasional 'I see.' Sometimes, however, my father threw a Parthian dart at him, such as, 'Just recapitulate the last six equations'; when it generally happened that Spica Virginis or Alpha Lyrae required immediate attention."

While Hamilton was very fond of poetic composition, he was well aware that his productions did not merit consideration as works of art. They were but the natural expression

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of an imaginative nature in moments of deep emotion, and played an important rôle in his intellectual development and culture. The well-known circumstances connecting Adams with the discovery of Neptune ("who having," as Sir William expressed it, "discovered the planet as a *Truth*, has so gracefully disclaimed it as a *Possession*") led to this stately sonnet:

ON UNSELFISHNESS IN THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH AND BEAUTY

To Professor J. C. Adams (discoverer of Neptune)

ὥστε, ὦ Ζεν, μαίωτρά μοι ἀπόδος . . . ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾶς.

When Vulcan cleft the labouring brain of Jove
With his keen axe, and set Minerva free,
The unimprisoned Maid, exultingly,
Bounded aloft, and to the Heaven above
Turned her clear eyes, while the grim Workman strove
To claim the Virgin Wisdom for his fee,
His private wealth, his property to be,
And hide in Lemnian cave her light of love.

If some new truth, O Friend! thy toil discover,
If thine eyes first by some fair form be blest,
Love it for what it is, and as a lover
Gaze, or with joy receive thine honoured guest:
The new-found Thought, set free, awhile may hover
Gratefully near thee, but it cannot rest.

February 8, 1847

One event connected with America shed brightness over Hamilton's decline. When only twenty-seven he had received a diploma of fellowship in the Boston Academy, and at the end of the Civil War, on formation of the National Academy at Washington, Hamilton was chosen as the first foreign associate; and the elegant letters of Dr. Gould, as foreign secretary, received by Hamilton when nearing the end of his sixtieth year, and battling with mortal disease, conveyed to him the first notification of this honor, which he received with feelings of more than mere gratitude.

Even down to the day of his death, the great mathematician was intensely occupied with his new work, the "Elements of Quaternions," which he considered incomparably superior as a book to the Lectures, although these latter possess greater interest in the history of science. By the middle of 1865, gout and bronchitis had firm hold of him and foreshadowed the inevitable end. But he continued to work on the Elements and his papers in the Proceedings of the Academy. Rallying from a threatening collapse, he began in his last days what was intended to be a short series of letters on quaternions, addressed to his younger son, to whom he related in a tremulous hand the circumstances of the great discovery; but the series ended with the introductory sentence of the second letter. Recognizing the end immediate, on September 2, 1865, Hamilton solemnly stretched himself at full length upon his bed, and symmetrically disposed his arms and hands, thus calmly to await death, under whose subliming power his noble head and monumental figure gave a singular impression of grandeur and majesty.

Great as has been the name of Hamilton in the past, his greatest fame is yet of the future. If after years of patient application to quaternion analysis he could truthfully write the following words, no less true must they be for our own day:

> The quaternions seem to me to admit of entering into an alliance so close, yet new, with every part of pure and applied geometry, and at the same time to require such large additional developments, before their relations of analogy and contrast to existing methods of calculation shall be fully known, that I count myself *merely* to have *begun* them. The field is far too wide to be tilled by a solitary labourer, even with occasional assistance from a few friends, who feel some interest in his exertions. The time may come, though, if so, it will be due to other explorers rather than to me, when, the mathematics of this calculus having become comparatively mature, it shall admit of being extensively and usefully applied to physics, as a new instrument in the study of Nature. In the prospect of such a time, I feel with no jealous pain, that although it may have been permitted to me to accomplish something in this enterprise as an honourable Suitor of Science, yet the Bow awaits its Ulysses.

With a mind phenomenally active, a nature exceptionally genial, an intellect transcendentally great, and a character warm and sympathetic, Sir William Rowan Hamilton must ever shine with singular lustre as an apostle of pure science.

Making Ready for the New Day

By VICTOR S. YARROS

WHAT do enlightened and advanced liberals mean by "social reconstruction" after the war? What changes would they order if power were placed in their hands? In Great Britain, as we know, an extraordinary programme of social reconstruction has been put forth in the name of the Labor party. While this programme is said to have been prepared by a distinguished middle-class Fabian leader, it embodies, without doubt, an honest and in the main a successful attempt to voice the aspirations and ideas of organized labor in England, Scotland, and Wales. We know also that hosts of British middle-class liberals and radicals accept it as a sort of modern democratic Magna Charta. This programme is distinctly, unmistakably socialistic. We may like it or dislike it, but we cannot seriously pretend to entertain any doubt regarding its nature, meaning, and informing principle. It calls for the nationalization of railways, mines, shipping, and electric-power plants. It demands the gradual nationalization of land. It favors the strict control and regulation of all important industries that may be left, for the present, in private hands. It demands the establishment by law of a national universal minimum standard of living and, necessarily, of minimum wage schedules. It demands such drastic rates of income and inheritance taxation as shall result in diverting the "national surplus" into the national treasury.

Let us turn to the United States. What does "social reconstruction" mean to Americans who are not orthodox socialists or single taxers? President Wilson, in his famous letter to the Democrats of New Jersey, earnestly bade us make ready for the birth of a new day, "a day of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women." What is the bearing of this generality on our land problem, our foreign trade and tariff problem, our banking and currency problem, our corporation and labor problem? Restrictive laws, national and State, in certain directions may be necessary and advisable. Doctrinaire opposition to "over-legislation" is idle and perhaps even unsound. We may, without treason to liberty, to a higher individualism, demand and support laws against child labor and woman's excessive toil. We may favor pension and insurance legislation, even minimum-wage legislation. These things, however, are superficial. They will not bring "great-

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er opportunity and greater prosperity to the mass of struggling men and women." What will? What are we really driving at? What, to repeat, would we propose and do if we, advanced liberals and non-Socialist radicals; we, the discontented and politically unattached or half-attached; we, the seekers of new and more genuine alliances—what would we do if we had the opportunity and the power?

To us the British labor programme of reconstruction comes as a challenge to translate into concrete terms the vague words that are often on the lips as we look forward to the end of the war. Modestly, then, and only for the purpose of stimulating discussion, I submit the following:

1. The land should belong to those who cultivate it. Hence land monopoly and holding of land out of legitimate economic use should be opposed and prevented in every suitable way—by high taxation of uncultivated land, by restricting, if necessary, individual ownership of land to a certain acreage, to be determined by local conditions, and by encouraging the reclamation and improvement of waste land by settlers through coöperative credit agencies and a minimum amount of Government aid and supervision.

2. Trade and commerce should be free, and customs barriers levelled down. Protection should be gradually but steadily abolished, and moderate tariff duties levied for revenue only, pending a thorough revision of our whole system of taxation.

3. Natural resources should be conserved for the benefit of the people, or utilized and developed for the benefit of the whole people under certain regulations and conditions —only a fair return to invested capital being allowed and the right of "recapture" being properly safeguarded.

4. Credit should be further democratized, and facilities for issuing circulating notes, on the one hand, and bonds secured by land, improvements, or equipment and stocks of insured goods, on the other, should be further extended along the respective lines of the Federal Reserve Act and the Farm Loan Act, Government aid and control always being kept at the minimum compatible, at any given time, with the maximum of efficiency in realizing the ends in view—cheap credit and low rates of interest on borrowed capital.

5. In justice to debtors and creditors alike, the multiple standard of value, as advocated by scientific economists and approved in principle by practical financiers, should be substituted, after a necessary campaign of education, for the metallic standard—now gold—and the recurrent evils of contraction and inflation of the currency, so detrimental to industry and labor, should thus be eliminated.

6. Direct taxation should be substituted for indirect in the interest of economy and governmental responsibility, and the principle of "ability to pay" explicitly recognized in all tax and revenue legislation.

7. The working masses, skilled and unskilled, should be thoroughly organized, collective bargaining with employers instituted and pushed, and adequate machinery for the arbitration and adjustment of industrial disputes established—legislation along the lines of the limited Canadian law for compulsory investigation and temporary postponement of threatened strikes or lockouts to be part of such machinery, for the most part voluntary.

8. The capitalistic or wage system should be gradually and consciously replaced by coöperative control and management of industry and commerce. The wage system is incompatible with real freedom and dignity of labor and cannot, at the best, yield harmony between employers and employed. Without harmony and good will, efficiency is impossible. Hence coöperation in production, distribution, and exchange should be encouraged in every possible way, profit-sharing arrangements being employed to pave the way to complete coöperation. Also, the investment by workmen and clerks in the securities of the corporations or firms employing them should be encouraged in every feasible way, and representation should be given on directorates to the labor force. Employers should appreciate the wisdom and necessity of "peopleizing" industry and giving labor a direct, substantial stake in it.

9. There should be representation of the Government, or of the people, on the directorates of all public utility corporations, with full publicity for all their operations, supervision of their financing, accounting, and bookkeeping, and other applications of the fundamental principle that beneficiaries of franchises or any special privileges whatever are subject to definite public control because the public is one of the interests vitally concerned in the soundness, honesty, and efficiency of such corporations.

10. Vocational and industrial training, in addition to a certain minimum of general or liberal education, should be provided for all who need it.

11. There should be drastic simplification and rationalization of legal procedure, elimination of technicalities and fictions therefrom, and the free administration of justice for poor litigants or claimants.

12. Proportional representation should be established in every legislative assembly, national, State, and local.

13. Provision should be made for the employment of the referendum and initiative.

14. The power of the judiciary to annul legislation should be limited so as to render four-to-three or five-to-four decisions in important cases impossible.

A perusal of the foregoing programme will show that most of the planks are economic and social and only a few political. The latter are mere means to the larger ends in view. The paramount object is to lessen parasitism, eradicate monopoly and anti-social privilege, and insure to labor a just return, independence, and dignity. Certain concessions, even liberal ones, are made to what may be called paternalism. The dogmatic and metaphysical individualists of an earlier time would have regarded such concessions as fatal and treasonable, but no enlightened champion of the "new freedom" is likely to commit the error of solving intensely practical and perplexing problems according to a precise, *a priori* formula. If government is compromise, so is reform, so is progress. However, concessions to the spirit of the age, to situations and conditions that will change very slowly, if at all, are far from being tantamount to surrendering the main position. The foregoing programme is essentially individualistic. It is based on the idea that opportunity is still "the other name" for America, and that the opening up, or the reopening, of opportunities, with voluntary coöperation and healthy initiative in a fair and free field, would solve our problems and remedy our social and industrial ills. Legislation and political action will be necessary, but much will have to be done by employers, labor, and the neutral elements outside of politics. If there are other alternative programmes that yet meet the test of President Wilson's challenge or summons, let them be produced for sympathetic examination and fruitful discussion. Only thus can we fashion a programme which will fit the needs of to-morrow.

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The German Socialist Triumph

PERHAPS only one who lived in Germany in the early eighties can fully appreciate the significance of the revolution which has taken place in that country, of which the most striking sign is the admission to the Ministry of three Social Democrats, Philipp Scheidemann, Eduard David, and Gustav Bauer—the first two as Ministers without portfolio. In those days Socialists were ranked with anarchists, as so many ignorant Americans rank them to-day. But more than that, there were in existence the Bismarckian anti-Socialist laws enacted as a result of the attempt of Hödel to assassinate the Emperor William the First, and the wounding of the latter a few weeks later by Nobiling. Neither was a Socialist, but Bismarck succeeded in making use of these crimes to initiate a reign of terror against the Social Democracy.

On October 21, 1878, he procured the passage of the famous anti-Socialist laws by virtue of which within eight months 222 workingmen's organizations were dissolved and 405 periodicals and newspapers forbidden further publication. In one month sentences aggregating no less than five hundred years were imposed upon Social Democrats for *lèse majesté*. Countless meetings were suppressed. Thousands of Social Democrats were reduced to beggary and driven out of the country. As an immediate result, in the election of 1878 the number of Social Democratic votes fell from 493,300 to 437,100, and in 1881 they went down to 312,000. Every possible governmental device that could be used to terrorize, to put down by force and violence, was employed, but, as is always the case when free speech is suppressed and the stupid attempt made to alter a state of mind by prison sentences, the persecuted rapidly added to their numbers, and to their power as well. It was not long before Bismarck himself saw the folly of his policy, and when the Socialist law expired in 1890 it was not renewed. As late as August, 1900, however, at the funeral of Wilhelm Liebknecht, petty police persecution was still in evidence.

As for the present Kaiser, in 1893 he declared that the Social Democrats were "a band of fellows not worthy to bear the name of Germans." A little later, in a letter to the Chancellor, he called them "enemies of the divine order of things without a Fatherland." Only two years before the beginning of the war, and just in advance of the last general election to the Reichstag, the Kaiser went to Essen—the very same Essen which he recently revisited for the purpose of begging the Social Democrats of the Krupp Works to keep up their munitions production—in order to declare that every Social Democrat was a traitor to the country.

The result of that royal denunciation was the return of a Social Democrat from Essen by an enormously increased majority. It seems almost incredible that in the hour of its greatest crisis the German Government should turn to these "enemies" of humanity, of the Kaiser and the Kaiser's God, to beg them to take places at the highest council table, to plan how the Fatherland may be preserved. What a stirring there must be in the graves of Bebel and Liebknecht, to say nothing of Bismarck's!

The wonder of it all is increased by the evidence that Scheidemann and his associates did not accept the invitation of the Government until it had agreed to six conditions imposed by them. While no dispatches categorically stating it has done so have come, most if not all of the Scheidemann terms were accepted by Prince Max, the new Chancellor, in his speech announcing this peaceful revolution, but of course not indicating that these things were demanded by the Socialists as the price of their coöperation. The terms are as follows:

1. The Reichstag majority peace resolution of last year must be "absolutely adhered to."
2. Germany must consent to a league of nations.
3. Germany must make an unmistakable and indisputable statement pledging restoration of Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.
4. Germany must agree to indemnify Belgium.
5. The territories occupied by Germany in the East must be evacuated.
6. Autonomy must be granted to Alsace-Lorraine.

Truly history has now more than justified the liberal view which Mommsen, the great historian, took in 1902 when, to the horror of court circles, he wrote: "There must be an end of the superstition, as false as it is perfidious, that the nation is divided into parties of law and order on the one hand, and a party of revolution on the other, and that it is the prime political duty of citizens belonging to the former categories to shun the Labor party as if it were in quarantine for the plague, and to combat it as the enemy of the state." These quondam enemies of the state not only have their hands upon the rudder of the ship of state to-day, but have already helped to shape its course.

But there is even deeper significance in the acceptance of office by these three Social Democrats: it means a break with the historic policy of the party not to participate in the capitalistic Government at whose hands it had suffered martyrdom. Representation in the Reichstag of course it sought, as well as in the parliaments of the various kingdoms. But to take actual part in the responsibility of government—this was something that the elder Liebknecht and Bebel refused to countenance. They saw in it a trap by which the party might be tamed through the acceptance of governmental responsibilities. They did not wish to assume the slightest liability for the continuation of a capitalistic government or for any of its acts. Taking seats in the Cabinet would have meant to them a moral compromise certain to injure the party beyond repair. But for years before the death of Bebel there was a split on precisely this issue. Younger spirits in the party could not help being affected by the spectacle of Italian and French Socialists taking part in the government of their countries.

It was Eduard Bernstein who led the revisionist branch; that is, those who desired to recast the Erfurt programme of 1891. The conflict was between those who upheld the old intransigent policy which aimed at the sudden and direct capture of all political power and those who desired a gradually increasing share in the Government. In a sense the first were idealists of purest type, and the latter were compromisers who believed in "being practical" and "in recognizing existing circumstances." The economic development of the labor movement aided the revisionists; for the trade-union development and the coöperative movement both played into their hands. Many of the wage-earners did not care to have a purely revolutionary stamp rest upon the party; and, on the other hand, since 1900 the enormous growth of the party to upward of 4,000,000 voters was in part explicable by the fact that hundreds of thousands voted

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for Socialist candidates without for a moment believing in the economic programme or the policies of the Social Democracy. Because of the failure of Liberalism in Germany, they had to support it as the only reform party capable of making its influence felt. These temporary Social Democratic allies naturally exercised their influence in the direction of moderation and conservatism. Since the outbreak of the war this all-important cleavage within the party has been forgotten in the new issues raised by the struggle. One cannot help wondering, however, whether with the return of peace there will not be a furious outburst within the ranks on this question, and possibly a genuine split. At any rate, the next national convention of the party may be the most interesting of political happenings, so far as Germany is concerned.

It was not so long ago that a prominent American college professor wrote thus:

> Socialism, as a political principle in Germany, is a wave, a wave that is now striking against certain bulwarks and causes a foam whose mists in a measure obscure the horizon, but the wise Emperor and his astute Chancellor will, little by little, eradicate the causes of social irritation, the foam and mist will disappear, and not even an eddy will be seen.

It is obvious that if this opinion is widely held in America it will have to be as radically changed as is our opinion of the "wise Emperor and his astute Chancellor." The simple fact is that the admission to the Cabinet of three leading Socialists, together with the radical swing we are bound to see after the war, will make the Social Democrats the most important force in the whirlpool of German politics. Will the party give up its narrow, one-sided class character and become a really national party? This will be one of the great questions of the future, for which, however, the war may already have provided the answer.

As for the three men who have been taken into the Cabinet, they are of interesting and varied personalities. Gustav Bauer, who has become the first German Minister of Labor—the department seems to have been created for him out of a bureau—is a cripple who began work as a clerk in a law office. He graduated thence into the labor movement and became editor of an office-employees' newspaper. In 1908 he was chosen secretary of the Central Union of Berlin and he is at present the active Vice-President of the General Federation of Labor. Even if he were not a Socialist, it is something unheard of in Germany that a man of this type should be admitted to the Cabinet. He has always been a believer in revolution by peaceful evolution. Eduard David, Minister without portfolio, is distinctly the intellectual, being a doctor of philosophy of the University of Giessen, in which he specialized in German and modern languages. In 1893 he founded at Giessen the *Mittel-Deutsche Sonntagszeitung*. Since 1903 he has been a member of the Reichstag. He has written much on the agrarian question and the relation of Socialism to it. He has always been a member of the Bernstein group of revisionists. Very patriotic, he has been accused of Pan-German sympathies. He has whole-heartedly supported the Government's war policy. Bernstein himself, it is interesting to note, is in the anti-war minority. He has not, however, played a conspicuous rôle since the war began.

Philipp Scheidemann's recent career is well known. He has been a storm centre during the war; he has been denounced by the Pan-Germans as a traitor and bitterly criticised by the extreme Socialists, who have charged that he is under Government influence. But a careful study of his public utterances during the last three years shows that he has been consistently and steadily working for peace. If he has been, as some American newspapers suggest, a dummy put up by the German Government to attack it for the purpose of deceiving foreign opinion, he has played his rôle marvellously well. Yet it is hard to think of any government that would enjoy being attacked, even by a stool pigeon, as Scheidemann has attacked the German Government. He was the first to get up in the Reichstag and denounce the U-boat campaign as a total failure, and he has been so anti-war in his tendencies that he would long ago have been indicted and sentenced, as Mr. Debs has been, had he made, in this country, the public speeches he has steadily been making in Berlin. Until his thirtieth year he followed the printing trade. He, too, has been an editor, and a member of the Reichstag since 1903. In October, 1913, the year before the war, he visited this country, making a series of addresses under the auspices of the American Socialist party. In general he has stood for moderation, and in the Jena Congress of 1913 he secured approval of the new army taxes and army bills, together with a postponement of the demand for a general strike and the immediate revolution demanded by the extremists headed by "the Red Rosa," Rosa Luxemburg, who is now in jail for "slandering" the German army, that is, telling the truth about the cruelties enacted in German barracks in peace times. Scheidemann stated while here his absolute opposition to bombs and bloodshed as a means of reform, saying that "the advocates of such weapons are fit only for the mad-house." Yet he has not stood with the revisionists in his party. Without schooling save that afforded by the public schools, he none the less makes the impression of a man of profound learning. His whole aspect is that of the student.

There are those who say that there will be a reaction in Germany and that Pan-Germans and militarists will again come to the front. It is possible, as most of our all-knowing dailies would have us believe, that this admission of Scheidemann, David, and Bauer to the Government is merely camouflage, and that after peace is obtained they will be invited to retire. Those who write thus do not know their Germany and least of all the history of the Social Democrats. To believe that men of this type, having tasted of high office and its responsibilities, could permit themselves to be discarded as mere pawns in a game to deceive the Allies and America, one must be both credulous to a degree and utterly unfamiliar with the intense fighting qualities characteristic of all branches of the German Social Democrats. Whatever the mistakes of the Prussian Government it has never underestimated its Socialist adversaries.

O. G. V.

Contributors to this Issue

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DAVID GORDON is a Cleveland writer of prose and verse.

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Twenty Thousand Days Under the Sun

By ROBERT WHITAKER

LO I have lived these twenty thousand days,
And every day has been a year to me,
Each morning springtime, with its ecstasy
Of bud and leaf and song-bird's rapturous praise,
And every noon a summer, soft with haze,
With some fair harvest, rippling like a sea.
And every eve has brought its Christmas tree,
Its holly berries, and its yule-log's blaze.

There have been springtime frosts, and summer blast,
And drear November skies, and withered leaf,
Hours that were wild and wet with gusts of grief,
Hours when the very heart seemed frozen fast
But now my full score thousand days appear
Each one with all the fulness of a year.

Francis Ledwidge

By DAVID GORDON

IT is now more than a year since Francis Ledwidge died in battle in Flanders, and it may be worth while to appraise his intrinsic poetic virtues a year after his adventitious war glamour has worn off.

This war has been kind to a few of the poets, in making it possible for them to attain poetic distinction, not, in the good old-fashioned way, by an inborn penchant for using language—the expression of life—with unique graciousness and vividness, but simply by dying a presumably heroic death in a barrage. The reaction to poetry is, of course, an emotional one; so, being emotionally predisposed in favor of the poet at war for his principles, the crowd will adore his work the more readily. The skeptical lover of poetry has been unusually cautious in approaching the literary celebrities of the war. Francis Ledwidge is one of them. It is a peculiar fact in recent literary history that he has attained a reputation as a simple rustic poet, as a seneschal of the untaught muse. In the introduction to "Songs of the Fields," his *opus primum,* Lord Dunsany gives us a picture of a peasant of Meath, whose distinctive quality is a naturalness that comes with illiteracy and whose distinctive virtue is a talent for rendering photographically for introspection the colors of the marshes and the tones of the blackbird—a sort of Burns of Ireland.

Some of us, however, who admired Francis Ledwidge before death in battle gave him his present fame, have found in him qualities quite different from these. He is, without doubt, a nature poet, but he is much more. He is a surpassingly expert and delicate manipulator of words. And if poetry is anything, it is a peculiar manner of employing diction so that the sounds, the colors, and the ideas of words shall coalesce into a subtle and beautiful art.

A prerequisite of this is a profound and scholarly knowledge of language. For the poet must know from long study and from continual preoccupation with language the chemical or herbal qualities of words. He must be the possessor of a large and pliant vocabulary; his genius is that of handling this vocabulary effectively and touchingly. Now, Francis Ledwidge had this divine knack. His verses have the family-mark of Keats and Milton in this meticulous and lovely jugglery with the alchemistic essences of words. It is Keats, of all poets, of whom he immediately reminds the reader. And it is Keats who has been called "the poets' poet" on account of his technical excellence. At the opposite pole from his contemporary, Wordsworth, the nature poet, Keats was the laboratory refiner of words. Keats says:

> What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape?

Milton says:

> Return, Sicilian muse!
> And call the vales and bid them hither cast
> Their bells and flowerets of a thousand hues.
> Ye valleys low where the mild whispers use
> Of shades and wanton winds and gushing brooks;
> On whose fresh lap the swart star sparely looks:
> Throw hither all your quaint, enamelled eyes.

This same quality Ledwidge has in a lesser degree:

> And I will meet her on the hills of South
> And I will lead her to a Northern water.
> My Wild One, the sweet beautiful uncouth,
> The eldest maiden of the Winter's daughter.
> And down the rainbows of her noon shall slide
> Lark music and the little sunbeam people
> And nomad wings shall fill the river side
> And ground winds rocking in the lily's steeple.

He is not primarily and in his best moments a nature poet at all, but a love poet. There are more love poems than nature poems in "Songs of the Fields," and it is in them that he excels. He attains a sort of mellifluous poignancy which makes the reader think, "One cannot write like that without having been in love." It is exactly the same exhalation that rises from Shakespeare's sonnets, an authenticity and vividness which make the emotion graphic to the reader. Here is a fine, simple, and dynamic passage:

> Had I the wealth of lands and bleating flocks
> And barnfuls of the yellow harvest-yield;
> And a large house with climbing hollyhocks
> And servant maidens singing in the fields,
> You'd love me: but I own no roaming herds.
> My only wealth is songs of love for you.
> And now that you are lost I may pursue
> A sad life deep below the depth of words.

And here is a passage where both qualities, the subtle handling of language and the conveying of emotion, are finely carried out in his most beautiful poem:

> and her peal
> Of laughter will ring far, and as she tries
> For freedom I will call her names of flowers
> That climb up walls; then through the twilight hours
> We'll talk about the loves of ancient queens
> And kisses like wasp-honey, false and sweet,
> And how we are entangled in love's snares
> Like wind-looped flowers.

Ledwidge has one outstanding defect—lack of ease and fluency. This should perhaps be called the defect of his quality. For his diction and his thought are both complex, and he lacks, except in his very best moments, the ability to convey a complex image in a single, golden line. His clauses and his concepts sometimes have an inextricability which impedes their effectiveness. It is for this reason that his untimely death was so heartrending. For ease is a virtue that comes with long practice, and this youth who had writ-

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ten but a handful of verses would undoubtedly, with the years, have become as fluent as he was exquisite. We have paid one of the costs of war.

As it is, his sheaf of verses is a sweet, restful retreat from the half-penny mockers and shockers of the day. He does not pretend to be different, nor daring, nor deep. But he can make golden, bell-like melody out of words and colorful, vivid pictures out of concepts better than any of his contemporaries. This is true distinction and deserves true honor.

In the Driftway

A CERTAIN Federal Assistant Attorney-General, discussing the general question of civil liberties with a friend of mine last week, said: "I do not believe that the individual should have any civil rights whatever in time of war. I think the country would be better off if it were under martial law and run by a military administration." My friend replied that he had rarely heard a more Prussian point of view stated; whereat this official retorted: "Well, the Germans came pretty near winning the war with that point of view, didn't they?" This idea is not exceptional, of course; one hears it on all sides, particularly in official circles. This "true American," like many others, was not aware that at that very hour Prince Max was announcing the triumph of civilian government over the military in Germany, especially in matters of censorship and the right of assembly. Nothing more discouraging has come out of the war than these revelations here at home of the shallowness of our democracy and our absolute lack of that tenacious English holding to the glorious tenets of personal liberty, the history of whose winning is the story of Anglo-Saxon civilization. If we are thus to sweep away all safeguards in war time, what guarantee is there that we shall not do so in times of domestic strife and passion?

* * * * *

Every possible atrocity appertains to this war.* There is nothing whatever that its leaders have scrupled at. Wholesale massacres and torturings, wholesale starvation of prisoners, firing of great cities, piracies of the cruelest kind, persecution of the most hideous character and of vast extent, and, finally, assassination in high places—whatever is inhuman, whatever is brutal, whatever is fiendish, these men have resorted to. They will leave behind names so black, and the memory of deeds so infamous, that the execration of the war* will be eternal.

The reader will not be surprised to be told that this is an extract from a New York *Times* editorial, and he will readily guess that it relates to the pending war. In this he is quite mistaken. The date of the extract is April 17, 1865, and I have altered two passages. For the two "wars" which I have marked with asterisks read "rebellion" and "slave-holders' rebellion" respectively. With these changes the editorial represents Northern journalistic and popular opinion of the South just after Appomattox. Now nobody would believe that Americans could have been judged guilty of such crimes or could have merited such language; the average schoolboy is quite certain that the Confederates were as fair fighters as the Northerners. We wonder if sixty years hence future generations will similarly revise their views of our hated enemy of to-day with his barbarous piracies and fiendishness of every kind. It is hard to think so, but who remembers to-day the Allied and German atrocities in China that once shocked the whole world?

* * * * *

So the Harvard *Crimson* has yielded to the command of a vigorous American colonel and laid down its arms. Freshman dormitories, fraternities, football, and now our college dailies—all of these have fallen before the militarization of our colleges. The *Crimson* goes because the commandant who is taking President Lowell's place feels that work on the *Crimson* and service in the training unit are incompatible. Without question the Colonel is right; but somehow it is hard to think of Harvard without the *Crimson*, or *Crimes-own* as it used to be called. The oldest, we believe, of our college dailies, it was never a newspaper like the Cornell *Sun* and one or two others which take the Associated Press service. Its vagaries, like its English, were the butt of many jokes and added much to the gaiety of undergraduate life, but it was nevertheless a valuable training school. By service on it many men have worked their way through college; and some have done well in journalism on leaving Cambridge. It is really surprising how greatly such papers as the *Crimson* and the Yale *Record* have approximated the daily journalism of the outside world in their enterprise, their desire for "beats," and their extras on gala athletic days. Doubtless they will come back after the war, and the *Crimson* editors will then be able to turn to its interrupted files as proof that the *Crimson*, too, did its little part in the war.

THE DRIFTER.

Correspondence

History and the Young Idea

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The secondary school teacher should be interested in the discovery that the American tendency to be more sympathetic with France than with England is due to a distorted history taught in our schools. For upon his shoulders falls the responsibility of steering clear of "massacres" in textbooks and at the same time of preserving the dignity of the American Government. This avoidance of "massacres," by the way, is not easy. In Lecky one reads: "About six weeks later a second expedition . . . descended upon Connecticut. The little town of New Haven was given up to almost indiscriminate plunder. Fairfield, East Haven, and the flourishing town of Norwalk were set fire to and wholly or partially destroyed, and an immense amount of property of many kinds was plundered or burned. The conduct of the British was only slightly palliated by the allegation that the dockyards which were ruined had been largely employed in fitting out privateers against the English navy, and that the towns which were burnt had fired upon English troops. Vast numbers of peaceable and inoffensive persons who did not make the shadow of resistance were ruined and outraged, and the expeditions of the English were probably much more efficacious in arousing indignation and in alienating loyalists than in intimidating the enemy."

But which impresses the average pupil the more, his textbook or his teacher's exposition of it? Most of us, if we think back to our textbook days, will find that we remember little about the book beyond the color of the binding, but that many of the lessons drawn from it by our real teachers are still ours.

If school authorities continue, as is sometimes done, to assign history classes to teachers who have had no training in the subject, but who must have one more class in order to have a full programme, the pupils will have a distorted knowledge of our domestic as well as our foreign relations. But if pains be taken to entrust the teaching of history to instructors who have a proper respect both for their own country and for its allies, the cause of democracy will not suffer.

MILDRED HINSDALE

Grand Rapids, Mich., September 24

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Misjudging the German Press

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As one long resident abroad may I call your attention to the arbitrary methods of the editors of our dailies in valuing the utterances of the German press? The general rule is to apply the puppet theory to it in its entirety; that is, every American editor sweeps aside at pleasure the opinions of German newspapers as mere inspirations of the Government. In its extreme form this criticism takes the ground that the Government inspires certain papers to attack its policies in order to produce an effect abroad. When it suits their purposes and their arguments, our editors take seriously what the German papers say; but whenever the abrupt rejection of any German opinion or policy is desired, they unmask the puppet to their hearts' content. The whole thing is, however, arbitrary to the last degree, inconsistent and topsy-turvy. Thus the *Times* the other day in treating of the new German Government spoke of "the howls of simulated wrath from the Junker and Pan-German organs" as probably ordained to give a better effect and deceive foreign nations. Yet the *Times* daily gives us the most comprehensive summaries of German press discussions to be obtained in this country. Why waste good money if the German press is always a fraud, always speaking with a sinister motive, always deceiving its own public and all foreigners?

Let me premise that I would not for a moment defend the German press. But if we must utterly discard it as a means of studying German political opinion, we ought all to know this and pay no further attention to it. I am far from denying that the German Government influences the press in illegitimate ways; its moral record in this war proves that. I can believe the worst about a government which in Mirabeau's phrase has "swallowed all formulas." But I cannot accept the puppet theory in any wide application. From my intimate knowledge of the German press it is psychologically impossible for me to believe that all the sharp attacks by Socialist and Pan-German newspapers upon their own Government are merely paid-for gestures accompanied by ventriloquist squeaks from Wilhelmstrasse.

Think of the sheer impossibility of a complete puppet theory. One thing the world has learned since 1914—the weakness and ineptitude of a German Government, either political or military, in dealing with the souls of men. Such a Government cannot control the press and not be found out; it cannot fool all the Germans all the time. There is among them an unusually high percentage of intelligent men; if none of them has caught the Government in the act, then our use of the puppet theory is overdone; we are overworking Bismarck's "reptile press" expression. As an offset to it I recall the fact that some fifteen years ago the late Baron von Richthofen, then Foreign Secretary, appealed helplessly to a great American journalist to tell him the American Government's method of dealing with the press; his Government, he said, had quite failed to keep effectively in touch with the German press.

Another absurdity. The *Times* would have us believe that the Pan-Germans and Junkers are taking part in a Government "frame-up"—that these men, whose cruel and brutal views are one of the most outstanding and terrible things revealed to us by the war, are only shams. Men who have consistently shown themselves utterly reckless of foreign opinion suddenly lend themselves to a petty trick of the Government they despise in order to deceive us. Equally some German editor might have argued that Hearst's opposition to sending American troops abroad was only a little trick of Mr. Wilson's to make the Germans believe that no troops would be sent across.

Let us test the puppet theory by an incident still fresh in our memories—the "Kuehlmann crisis." When the military censor tried to dictate to the newspapers just how Kuehlmann's words of June 24 about the impossibility of a military decision were to be interpreted, it was the *Vorwaerts* which exposed it—a paper which some official personage at Washington now wants us to believe has been corrupted by the German Government with gifts of print-paper! And what about the *Frankfurter Zeitung's* terrible arraignment of both the General Staff and the Hertling Government in connection with the same incident? Was that all "simulated" too? Is a long career of consistent devotion to political ideals—even in the case of an enemy newspaper—to be cast on the rubbish heap? Let us put more reason and intelligence into our use of the German press; and let us trust that even in it the ordinary corrective forces of human nature will work their way. With our puppet theory we only imitate an evil German example in the interpretation of things American, according to which a few formulas—the almighty dollar, corruption in politics, and a love for superlatives—solved all problems. NORTH CAROLINIAN

New York, October 10

A Condemnation that Is a Commendation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I take this opportunity to commend your heroic stand in the present-day fight for freedom of press, speech, and thought. When a people forego the right to criticise their government and its administrators constructively, they at that moment cease to be citizens and become subjects, like the German, who has willingly granted to his Fatherland the right to control his destiny. This dangerous attitude of mind is growing in this country to-day. Based on fear and terrorism, and not on intelligent discrimination, it is bound to lead us from the path of democracy and freedom. It is the attitude of militarism, that would inculcate a narrow nationalism and breed contempt for the larger world viewpoint.

Certainly democracy is not jeopardized when a journal like the *Nation*, that appeals to leaders rather than followers, criticises Mr. Gompers by designating him as a salesman of the war rather than a student of social and economic conditions in the labor world, which a representative of American workingmen at an international conference should be. If we are to have a more intelligent democracy in the future, Demos must be allowed to think, which implies the right of constructive expression, war or no war. W. C. F.

St. Charles, Mo., September 30

Fair Exchange

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was interested to learn from a recent number of your paper that the Post Office objected to your unfavorable allusions in an earlier issue to an American labor leader. Should not the censor extend the same courtesy to the leaders of labor in the countries of our allies? The New York *Times* in an editorial on August 10 attacking the English labor pacifists as gulls and busybodies spoke as follows: "Mr. Arthur Henderson is an amiable, a well-intentioned, and rather smug person, whom the clever Mr. Sidney Webb and other astute Fabians have fed with economic fantasies, an ingrained and incorrigible pacifist. His exclusion from the Government has apparently led him to believe that he is a heaven-born paciferous statesman." Surely such aspersions on the acknowledged leader of British labor are quite as treasonable as any remarks of yours about Samuel Gompers. HENRY J. CADBURY

Haverford, Pa., September 26

A League of Nations

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: President Wilson said in his great New York address that a league of nations was necessary because "there will be parties to the peace whose promises proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity." This is indeed a most cogent reason; but there are other reasons just as cogent.

What guarantee have we that the "new" for which we are fighting, the great issues so ably pointed out by our President, will be "settled" by a peace treaty, that the "rights of man" for which we are shedding our blood will actually dominate the world of the future? What does history teach us? The growth of tribes into peoples, and of peoples into powerful nations—through wars. May it not be that by this war the foundation is laid of many wars to come? May it not be that these very

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peoples we are making free to-day will in time become war-making nations? Is the "new" of which our President speaks really the dominant spirit among us all? Is it among the autocratic Poles as represented in the Paris Committee, who already speak of a mighty empire? Perhaps we deceive ourselves. Perhaps the old order of things will after all go on—race fighting against race. What security have we that the blessings of freedom we are now offering to new peoples will not become the old historic curse? There are traitors to the great cause living in every country to-day. Many professedly democratic people have not grasped the meaning of this war. To secure to the people the rights for which they are laying down their lives, all the governments of the world must form themselves together into a league of nations. It is not a bond of friendship, it is an association to secure order in the world.

It is for this great cause we are enthusiastic, not for a Napoleonic war which leaves the peoples of the world no better off than before. ROBERT M. WERNAER

Cambridge, Mass., October 8

Carlyle and Spy Mania

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Parallel to the spy mania, which leads people to accuse or attack innocent or even patriotic citizens as enemies, war develops a tendency among some intellectual men to assail the illustrious dead as traitors. Professor Sherman's article on Carlyle in your issue of September 14 is a disturbing example. Any one who credits *Kultur* with the support of a single man of eminence strengthens its position in such a way as to make more difficult the task of civilization in overcoming it.

It is easy to convict any man by citing detached statements without their qualifying context, and Carlyle is peculiarly vulnerable to this method. We may apply to him words written of Rousseau: "It is his method to make a clear-cut incisive effect with every stroke. If qualifications be needed, they will appear later on in the work, shining in their own substantive right, brightly burnished and acute." Professor Sherman, however, shows the danger of this method, for to Carlyle's extravagances he adds many of his own; and these are not, like Carlyle's words, susceptible of a meaning quite the reverse of their obvious one, nor are they qualified elsewhere by other equally strong statements of opposite implication.

Professor Sherman says that Ruskin and Carlyle were active from 1825 to 1900; in reality, Ruskin did little in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, and practically no writing after the middle eighties. He was also Francophil and anti-German. On Professor Sherman's principle of taking only the literal value of a man's utterances, he must be acquitted of sympathy with German ideas.

The really serious misconception of Professor Sherman, however, is his failure to realize that Carlyle was a mystic who looked on the material as symbolical of the spirit, and who judged people entirely by the ideal that animated them. It is a gross misrepresentation of his teachings to say that he identified the leader who symbolized this ideal with the ideal itself, just as it is a gross misrepresentation of his meaning to say that the picture in "Sartor Resartus" of old Andreas recalling Frederick's "Schweig, Hund!" with "Das nenn' ich mir einen König," indicates a belief that a "holy shudder" should oppress the subject in the presence of royalty. A professor of literature, even though lacking a sense of humor, should know that this is nothing but a sly and sympathetic laugh at the simplicity of the old peasant, a laugh that would go far alone, even if there were not numberless things in Carlyle to reinforce it, to refute the charge that he despised the common people, and was insensible to their virtues and their rights.

I have tried, in the *Unpopular Review* for July-September, to deal with just such misunderstandings of Carlyle as Professor Sherman displays, and I have there indicated as among their causes the practice of judging persons out of their environment. Carlyle does not do this, but Professor Sherman does, and this alone, it seems to me, makes a complete misapprehension of his meaning, as well as an entire misunderstanding of his heroes, inevitable. SIDNEY GUNN

Annapolis, Md., September 20

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At the present time Mr. Gunn's "intellectual men" may be more usefully employed, I believe, in scrutinizing the illustrious dead than in whitewashing them. I am glad to unite with him in calling attention to his article in the *Unpopular Review* as an illustration of a whitewashing effort which entirely fails to make the object white.

Whether *Kultur* is to be credited with the support of any "single man of eminence" must be determined by facts, I should suppose, rather than by "patriotic" whitewash. If *Kultur* is not supported by men of eminence, what in the devil's name are we fighting about? If it has been strengthened by the thought and action of any men, living and dead, in America or Allied lands, we shall not forward civilization's crusade against it by imitating the ostrich, even though sticking our heads in the sand may tranquillize our feelings and augment our sense of self-righteousness.

I am grateful to Mr. Gunn for acknowledging that my "extravagances" are not susceptible of a meaning quite the reverse of their obvious one, and that they are not nullified by "equally strong statements of opposite implication." I regret that I cannot return him the compliment. If Carlyle had been asked to summarize his life-work and main tendency in three thousand words, it is more than likely that he, too, would have omitted some of the "context." Notwithstanding these imperative space limitations, however, I have apparently succeeded in making my meaning fairly clear, and for such small measures of success, at any rate, I am duly grateful.

There is not space here to give the twenty-five or thirty titles, including *Praeterita,* which Ruskin added to his works in the last twenty-five years of his life. I refer the curious to the bibliography by Wise and Smart and to the additions in the Supplement to the Dictionary of National Biography. Neither is there space to discuss with "context," as Mr. Gunn requires, Ruskin's devout discipleship to Carlyle. As a hint of its temper in 1880, this will serve: "Had you ever read ten words of mine you would have known that I care no more for Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone than for two old bagpipes with the drones going by steam, but that I hate all Liberalism as I do Beelzebub, and that, with Carlyle, I stand, we two alone now in England, for God and the Queen."

I find Carlyle's mysticism considerably easier to understand than Mr. Gunn's fourth paragraph. Indeed, I am myself a mystic in Mr. Gunn's sense of the word, for I judge people by their ideals and regard their material performances as generally "symbolical"—or, as I should say, representative—of their spirit. I clutch, however, at a meaning in Mr. Gunn's last sentence, which seems to say that Carlyle's laugh, with other considerations, refutes the charge that he despised the common people. But turning to Mr. Gunn's article in the *Unpopular*, I find him saying: "It is true that Carlyle had slight respect for the intelligence or the integrity of the masses." I think that a man who considers the masses stupid and dishonest may fairly be said to despise the common people. Now if Mr. Gunn will tell me which of these two views he really supports, I will attempt to answer him. He will complain that I have omitted his context. To anticipate him, I restore it as follows: "It is true that Carlyle had slight respect for the intelligence or the integrity of the masses, but he held that nobility is inherent in human nature, and that a hero who knows how to arouse it invariably appears," etc. I confess that the context doesn't help me much—stupid and dishonest, yet inherently noble—till I call up old Andreas Futteral, and substitute for the word "nobility" the word "obedience," which, as I previously pointed out, is the chief virtue prescribed by Carlyle to the common people.

All this is detail. The fundamental question about Carlyle is not whether he would have approved Germany's present warfare upon England. Mr. Gunn's use of the word "traitor" in connection with Carlyle's name is the first case that has come to my attention. Of course Carlyle would not have approved the conduct of Germany in 1914-18. Carlyle was an English, not a German, imperialist. The fundamental question about Carlyle is whether his writing as a whole is not in theory and in practical application overwhelmingly favorable to the autocratic ideas of government upheld by Frederick the Great, Bismarck, and William II. STUART P. SHERMAN

University of Illinois, September 28

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BOOKS

Japanese Buddhism

Studies in Japanese Buddhism. By August Karl Reischauer. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2 net.

ONE may sympathize heartily with the general purpose of Dr. Reischauer's volume. "It is high time," he says, "that Western scholars take a wider outlook upon the world, and through a knowledge of Oriental thought help lay the foundations for that sympathy for Asia's millions which alone can make the inevitable meeting of East and West a blessing rather than a curse." The ethical and psychological avenue of approach is, one might suppose, the one most likely to lead to this more intimate understanding of Oriental thought. However, the final tests applied to Buddhism by Dr. Reischauer, who is professor in Meiji Gakuin (Mission) College at Tokio, are dogmatic and theological. His minimum doctrinal requirement—the belief in a personal God and personal immortality—brings out interestingly the difficulty involved in any effective contact between the Oriental and the Occidental mind. The difficulty does not arise, as is often said, from the different attitude towards personality *per se*. This attitude is only an aspect of something far deeper, of the Oriental sense of illusion. To look on the self as fixed and permanent, not only in this world, but in the beyond, seems to the man of the Far East too hard and literal. An enormous element of illusion, he holds, enters into the idea of personality itself. So illusory a being as man can grasp ultimate things, so far as he can grasp them at all, only through a curtain of maya. "Veil upon veil may lift, but there must be veil upon veil behind."

Superficially, some of the Japanese sects, notably those that worship the Buddha Amida, appear to offer Dr. Reischauer the faith in a personal God and personal immortality that he requires, but when he penetrates more deeply, it all seems to vanish away, "in a manner," as he says, "exceedingly maddening to the average Western mind." "The upshot of the matter is that he who has gone furthest in the search of truth knows best that he really knows nothing." Dr. Reischauer here displays something of what must have been the indignation of the plain citizen of Athens at Socrates. In more than one respect, indeed, not merely the Mahayanist Buddha of the Japanese, but the real Buddha, as conceived by Dr. Reischauer, is a sort of Oriental Socrates. For example, according to Dr. Reischauer, Buddha tended like Socrates to put too much stress on right knowing and to assume that right doing would follow. But the Buddhist emphasis on knowledge is in itself more commendable than the obscurantism that has marked one whole side of Christianity. It is scarcely desirable that saintliness should be associated with weakness of intellect — that our "silly," for example, should have the same derivation as the German "roly" ("selig"); or that the Latin "benedictus" should give the French for "blockhead" ("benêt"), or conversely that a person should be praised for being as "bright as the devil." It is surely better to insist with the Buddhist that the intellectual superiority is on the side of the saints, and that the devil is an ass. The Buddhist has on his side the latest conclusions of science as to the low mentality of criminals. Dr. Reischauer is at one with other good observers in affirming that "the sources of Japanese culture in the past have been either directly or indirectly mainly Buddhist," and he is also probably right in adding that that intellectual keenness fostered by Buddhism accounts for the fact that the Japanese have been able to assimilate Western culture in such a surprisingly short time. But because Buddhism cultivates intellect it does not therefore neglect what a Christian would call the problem of the will. For one who adopts a purely psychological method the important thing to know about a philosophy or a religion is not whether it affirms this or that dogma, or whether it is, on the other hand, as is usually said of early Buddhism, atheistic and agnostic, but whether it is dualistic in its treatment of the problems of the inner life or inclines rather to monism or pantheism. The opposition is irreconcilable between a Saint Paul when he exclaims, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death," and a Novalis when he declares that "one touches heaven when one touches a human body." Now Buddha traces evil not only to ignorance but to spiritual indolence ("pamāda"); and so he exalts not merely knowledge, but the opposite of "pamāda," unremitting moral purpose or spiritual strenuousness ("appamāda"). The dualism or struggle between opposing principles in the breast of the individual that the whole conception implies has been missed by Dr. Reischauer, as well as by many other students of Buddhism.

An understanding of this dualistic nature of the genuine doctrine is needful if one is to determine its relation to the forms of the faith that appear in Japan. Japanese Buddhism, as Dr. Reischauer says, is "nine-tenths historical development, and in many of its cardinal points this development runs counter to the teachings of Sakyamuni." Zen, which, according to one of Dr. Reischauer's tables, has nearly 21,000 temples in Japan, seems to him, because of its meditative character, nearer to the spirit of the founder than any other form of the Mahayana. Now Zen is in itself a fascinating subject; it is, moreover, important, in view of its appeal to the cultivated, its relation to the Japanese chivalric ideal (Bushido), and the inspiration it has given to Sesshu and other great artists. But if one applies the psychological test, one finds that the meditation of the Zenist instead of being dualistic has a strong pantheistic tinge; so much so that it is hard to avoid concluding with Professor Nukariya,* himself a Zenist, that Zen is of Chinese and Taoist rather than of Indian origin. The gap between a genuine Buddhist and a Zen Buddhist would seem to be about as wide as that between Dr. Johnson and William Blake and of somewhat the same nature. The popularity of Zen with the military class gives the question a practical aspect; it is compatible, in a way that genuine Buddhism is not, with an intense national feeling that may under certain circumstances run into an expansive imperialism.

If Buddhism has more than any other influence made the Japan of the past, it is, according to Dr. Reischauer, rapidly losing its hold on the Japan of to-day. It will, he hopes and anticipates, give way more and more to Christianity. In the meanwhile, if one turns to Buddhist periodicals of the Far East, one will find them arguing from recent events the bankruptcy of Christianity, and at the same time urging that missionaries be sent out to carry the message of the Lord of compassion to the benighted heathen of the Occident. The truth is that both Buddhism and Christianity have lost their hold, and for the same reason. Dr. Reischauer speaks of the extreme other-worldliness of Buddha;

*See *The Religion of the Samurai, a Study of Zen Philosophy*, by Kaiten Nukariya (London: Luzac, 1913), p. 23.

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but neither was the kingdom of Jesus of this world. The view of life that the leaders of the new Japan have borrowed from the West is aiming, not like both Buddhism and Christianity, at peace, but at power. The things of the spirit are yielding to mechanical and material "progress." As to the present state of religious belief in intellectual Japan, weight should perhaps be attached to the fact that an overwhelming majority of the students at the University of Tokio recently reported themselves "agnostics."

In spite of the limitations imposed by his theology, Dr. Reischauer is not only friendly in his general attitude towards Japan, but is manifestly striving to be fair to Buddhism itself. His book is a repertory of information about the various Japanese sects and their history and should therefore be welcomed as a piece of pioneer work in what he truly describes as an "immense and to the Western scholar practically unknown field." Perhaps the most useful thing to do at present would be to translate some of the Japanese works he mentions in his bibliography—for example, the "Dictionary of Zen."

A League of the Nations

In the Fourth Year: Anticipation of a World Peace. By H. G. Wells. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

AS Mr. Wells is a moralist by temperament and an artist by accident, the reveries and conversations which go to make up many of his books should be taken at their face value and should not count for more. But on such a public theme as the League of Nations one has the right to expect something more, because Mr. Wells himself sees in the theme an ordering and articulation of the blurred feelings and hopes which he symbolizes by his God the Invisible King. His whole contention is exceedingly well taken; what it points to by way of an international programme is a League of Free Nations, to be composed primarily of the Powers that can make effective war. In the first line of such Powers are England, France, Germany, and the United States; in the second line, Italy, Japan, perhaps Russia, and, far more remotely, China. The League might develop naturally out of the Peace Congress, for the problems created by the war will survive it. It will be necessary to formulate some common scheme for the preservation of money-credit, to maintain some common device for the reorganization and distribution of food and raw material. Of both there is likely to be a long post-war shortage, which can be met only by continuous international effort. There will be other problems, not so immediate, but quite as important. The League of Free Nations is primarily a plan of team-play in meeting them, and its broad preliminaries should be accepted at once by all mankind.

What these should be could be best determined by the organization of a preliminary League of Allied Nations. There has been much talk, back and forth, on the terms of peace. To secure the needful ends, the Allies must hold a public conference and state their common aims on which, and on which alone, they will make peace with the common enemy. The economic aims must be explicitly stated by elected, not appointed, delegates. Thus far it has been too easy for the Germans to reply to every Allied accusation of oligarchy, imperialism, secret diplomacy, *tu quoque*. Publicity and the election of delegates will completely neutralize this reply. The device for election should follow the pattern of the Electoral College, which, formally, chooses the American President.

Given, then, these elected agents of the public will of the Allies to a League of Free Nations, they should meet with the elected agents of the Central Powers at the Peace Conference and organize the League. Its first power must be to "adjudicate upon all international disputes whatever," to create, hence, a Supreme Court which shall deal with all phases of the economic, military, racial, or cultural issues between states or peoples. Its second power must be to make the decisions of its Court enforceable. The League of Free Nations must have control of the armies and navies of the world. The third power of the League should be the control, by means of a commission, of all the African colonies. Labor's interests require that each and every form of African slavery shall be abolished. The world's interests require that the commerce between these colonies shall come under a single rule of interstate commerce.

Such, in outline, is the League of Free Nations Mr. Wells encourages. Some kind of League is inevitable, he contends, correctly, because machinery has brought the parts of the world too close together for political separatism. Machinery has rendered all empires vulnerable. Machinery has condemned to death eighteenth-century political organization and geographical boundaries at the hands of twentieth-century steam-engines, airplanes, electrical devices. Furthermore, the results gained by modern warfare are too poor to pay for the cost of conducting it. Destruction is too colossal; society itself cracks under it.

Studies in Logic

The New Rationalism. By Edward Gleason Spaulding. New York: Holt & Company. $3.50 net.

Foot-notes to Formal Logic. By Charles H. Rieber. Berkeley: University of California Press.

An Elementary Handbook of Logic. By John J. Toohey. New York: Schwartz, Kirwin & Fauss. $1.25.

THE creation of formal logic by Aristotle has for ages been considered—and justly—one of the most stupendous achievements in the history of intellect. In contrast to every other branch of knowledge, here was one science complete at birth. For over two thousand years Aristotle's work seemed to nearly all of those who studied it to require, or, in fact, to admit of, only very minor modifications, and through that entire period it retained substantially the form which it had received from the hand of the master. If we except the Hegelian attempt to "transcend" it, there have been but four fundamental reformulations of logic in all the years that Aristotle has held the field. The earliest of these were the empirical movements led by Francis Bacon and John Stuart Mill, while the other two have arisen in our own time, namely, the pragmatist attempt to discredit formal logic and put the whole subject upon a psychological basis, and the movement that received its impetus largely from the mathematicians to supplement, if not to supplant, the Aristotelian formulation by new logical concepts, laws, and processes. As a result, the field of study which for more than twenty centuries was the most peaceful and the best settled domain in all the realm of intellect has now become a place of conflict as violent as any to be found in either science or philosophy. The struggle is an unusually complicated one, owing to the fact that there are not two

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but three groups of belligerents—the Aristotelians, the pragmatists, and the mathematical logicians, if so they may be termed, each fighting both of the others and at the same time aiding each of the others in its attack upon the third.

The three books under review represent two of these three groups. Professor Toohey stands for the old-time Aristotelian, though not in his militant mood. In fact, there is no indication in his admirably concise textbook that he is aware that the logic of his master has been attacked or that anybody has made bold to suggest that it is in need of supplementation. It should be added, of course, that in a book for beginners there is scant room for the discussion of these abstruse themes. Professor Rieber also is an Aristotelian, but of a very different type from Father Toohey. Widely read in the writings of the critics, he has published, not a textbook for the beginner, but a monograph for the learned; not an exposition of formal logic, but a vindication of it. In the three-cornered warfare of the logical battlefield, however, he finds his hands full in meeting one foe at a time; and saying very little of the mathematicians who would supplement Aristotle (and with whom, in fact, he shows some sympathy), he concentrates his efforts upon the defence of formal logic from the attacks of pragmatism. The pragmatists are not represented among the books here reviewed; but the new school of logicians who would fulfil Aristotle's teachings rather than destroy them has a most able representative in Professor Spaulding. Among the younger American philosophical writers he holds high rank, and his qualifications for his present task are well known to all who have followed the recent literature in this field. The promise of his earlier essays is richly fulfilled in the work which he now lays before us.

Professor Rieber and Professor Spaulding in one sense stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of rationalism against pragmatism; but they defend it in very different fashion, and it is plain that were it not for the common foe they would soon be at each other's throats. Professor Rieber is an idealist and monist, Professor Spaulding a realist and pluralist. Their arguments against the subversion of logic by pragmatism and in support of absolute truth as against all relativist views have much similarity; but even in the forms of their expression certain fundamental differences crop out. Professor Rieber is defending "thought," Professor Spaulding the logical relations of objective reality. Both thus find themselves repeatedly led into the fields of epistemology and metaphysics. By identifying the logical structure of reality with thought Professor Rieber makes an idealistic metaphysics a necessity. By distinguishing between the two Professor Spaulding is enabled to defend a thorough-going rationalism and at the same time to champion realism.

But the rationalism which Professor Spaulding defends and propounds is the "new rationalism," the new logic which, taking its cue from the researches of the mathematicians and the procedure of the scientists, has found the Aristotelian logic quite inadequate to its needs. The old logic dealt with things and their qualities, with relations, especially those of inclusion and causation. The new logic criticises some of these concepts, accepts and uses others, but finds as most important of all certain principles which the old logic never used or thought of. Notable among these principles are the various kinds of series and the functional relationship.

The Aristotelian logic is wholly incapable of dealing with such entities (series), since it recognizes no principle of *order* other than that of the positive or negative inclusion of one class in another. It accordingly is identical with the (tacit) assumption that individuals or parts are, in most cases, related *only additively to constitute a whole*, and is, therefore, *incapable of logically accounting for a whole that has properties different from those of the parts*, as *e. g.*, has a chemical compound in contrast with its elements, and a living being in contrast with the chemical and physical forces of which it is composed. For, parts *added, i. e.*, related additively, give only a *sum, i. e.*, a whole which has properties *like* those of the parts. In contrast with the traditional doctrine, the new logic recognizes, therefore, the principle that a whole may consist of *two or more kinds* of parts, and that the *individuals* of *some* of these kinds *must* be related *non-additively* in order to constitute the whole. Such a non-additive relation is *asymmetrical*, and is present in every series. But, further, the Aristotelian logic is also wholly ignorant of the *functional* relationship, which plays such a dominant rôle in modern exact science. Yet that it must be thus ignorant is to be seen from the fact that it excludes series, and a function is a *correlation between series*. Accordingly, the traditional logic omits the use of the principle, that two entities can be *related* and yet be *independent*. This principle is typified in the character of that relation which subsists between the *two variables* (series) of a function. The Aristotelian logic accepts and insists on the opposed principle, that *all* relatedness carries with it the *mutual causal modification* of the related entities. Finally, the traditional logic omits the principle, that *a relation itself unites*, in some specific way, the entities related, so that a substance or substratum is *not* needed to hold these entities together and to meditate the relation. Indeed, *modern logic* centres very largely on the concept of *relations*, and the Aristotelian logic, in contrast, on the concepts of *substance* and *causation*. This it must do, since *its model is interacting physical things*, with a physical thing defined as a group of qualities that inhere in a core-like substance.

It has seemed best to quote this long passage because it gives the basal principles of the "new rationalism." From them there follow a host of consequences of great importance to philosophy. The aim of Professor Spaulding's book, in fact, is to present a survey of all the leading philosophical problems and of all the chief types of answer which they have received and to educe by analysis the logical presuppositions of each. In addition to this, the book seeks to show that, historically, philosophy has been "thingized" through almost exclusive use of the Aristotelian logic, and that phenomenalism, idealism, positivism, naturalism, and pragmatism are all self-refuting systems, since in their claim to real knowledge of the actual state of affairs they admit the realist's contention that knowledge does not modify its object. This long and careful review of the nature of logic and of the logical nature of the principal philosophies leads up to an elaborate statement and a (repeated) defence of the "new realism." But the realism which Professor Spaulding propounds will probably seem a bit too new to many of his fellow neo-realists; for he quite gives up the doctrine that consciousness is a relation between things, or a "cross-section" of neutral entities, which may be called the very core of the "new realism" as usually understood, and in place of that extreme view he sharply differentiates conscious entities from both physical entities and mere "subsistents."

It would be hard to find a more enlightening discussion of the moot question of external and internal relations than that which Professor Spaulding has given us. His conclusion is one that will probably prevail in the end with most logicians, rejecting as it does both the extreme views of the idealist and those of the radical neo-realists, and maintaining that there are both external and internal relations.

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Upon the fact of the existence of *some* external relations his realism is largely based, since this enables him to hold both the relation of the object of knowledge to the knowing process and also its independence. Upon this same logical basis, moreover, he builds a view of both reason and will which is in flat contradiction to naturalism and which helps to show how far removed realism may be from materialism. Both reason and will are free, the author holds; free not in the sense of being lawless, but in the sense of being independent of, and out of causal relation with, the physical and psycho-physiological. His view of the non-additive relation found in series, when applied to evolution, enables him to admit into his realistic universe genuine novelties and a real progress in the creation of new and higher values. This view, of course, does not come out of logic so much as out of empirical facts; but the logic permits the interpretation given to the facts.

Very often, however, Professor Spaulding gives the impression that he is somehow getting this and other conclusions out of his logic alone. From beginning to end of the book there is much flourishing of logical technique, which at times is rather mystifying and at times becomes almost ludicrous. Asymmetrical transitive relations, dense and compact, continuous and discontinuous, often seem to play the part of Aladdin's lamp; with the proper manipulation they are able to give the author almost anything that he wants. Careful observation of the process, of course, reveals that what he gets out of the logic machine are "logical entities" rather than ontological facts—"subsistents" rather than "existents"—but a hasty perusal would give the impression of much hocus-pocus. Another result of this very great emphasis upon logical technique is to be found in the author's presentation of the various historical philosophies, a presentation which would probably be repudiated by each of them. Professor Spaulding seems hardly to have realized how large a part psychological and other empirical considerations have played in the construction and defence of the philosophic positions which he attacks; and as a result his refutation of them has not always been successful. His position on the question of illusion is probably the weakest part of his book. Feeling bound to uphold the neo-realistic view that illusions are not mental, and apparently recognizing the failure of all previous attempts by his school to substantiate its doctrine, he takes up the astonishing position that illusions are non-existent. As the reader may anticipate, not only does he fail to give any reason for this dogmatic assertion: he is not even able to invent a definition of existence which will rule illusions out and retain normal mental processes.

In spite of these and other criticisms which the discerning reader will be compelled to make, Professor Spaulding's book is an admirable piece of work. Nowhere else can one find so detailed and so successful an application of the conclusions of modern logic to the problems of philosophy. It has not only done much to rejuvenate rationalism, but it has also shown that a realism which is based upon stern logical principles, and which takes into sympathetic account the results of the physical sciences, may still be able consistently to vindicate freedom, teleology, and the realm of values. There can be little question that the "New Rationalism" is the most important philosophical volume of the year. It represents a type of work unfortunately all too rare, and it will repay the careful study of the serious student for whom it is written.

Tricks and Inventions

The Blue Germ. By Martin Swayne. New York: George H. Doran Company.

The Room with the Tassels. By Carolyn Wells. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Uncle Abner. By Melvin Davisson Post. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

John O'May, and Other Stories. By Maxwell Struthers Burt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Gentlemen at Arms. By "Centurion." New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

"THE Blue Germ" is not a mystery story in the conventional sense. It presupposes the discovery of a microbe which need only be released to infect the world with physical immortality. It turns people blue, but it destroys disease and confers an immense well-being. Unluckily it entails certain effects unforeseen by its discoverers. It robs humanity of energy, since life is no longer short and there is no longer any hurry to get through one's job; and it founds a race of cowards as well as sluggards, since death by accident is now the only thing to be feared. Luckily the effects of the germ turn out to be only temporary, and before it has had time to go mad the race is restored to its normal chances of health and its assurance of death in the course of nature. The conceit is skilfully developed and not too heavily rubbed in. Patently artificial, a good story of this kind gives one the creeps because of its inescapable logic. Nothing could be more really remote from the unidea'd artifice of the commercial mystery story.

Here, for instance, are the yarns Miss Carolyn Wells has been so busily spinning of late. In their way they are excellent specimens of the pure mechanical romance. They abound in perplexing cross-paths and false signboards; not till we finally stumble into the centre of the maze do we see how childishly simple the real clue was. Miss Wells knows that it is only the machinery that counts, and appears to find an impish satisfaction in being, with perfect safety, as absurd as possible in everything but the naked contrivance. 'Cute little Vernie's death by murder is faced by her young friends with appalling nonchalance. It is folly for the reader to look for anything like characterization or consecutive human action in this variety. It is also risky for the story-teller to pretend even for a moment that his puppets are alive. We cannot be bothered with real people: next thing we should be actually worrying over their proximity to the buzz-saw! So far as the human personnel of the affair is concerned, let us have our make-believe as open as possible. The buzz-saw's the thing.

One person in the story we may invest with the trappings of character, namely, the central intelligence, the sleuth or philosopher through whom sooner or later all things are to be made plain. He bears a charmed life, and may safely be held in affection. "Uncle Abner" is a Virginian, but a Puritan; he carries a Bible in his pocket and quotes it at all times. He is huge of frame, stern and laconic, and no mystery is beyond him. He is a very good romantic figure, and Mr. Post uses him handsomely. Indeed, this is a maker of mechanical romance who is by no means satisfied with the bare machinery. He wishes to achieve not only the mental excitation but the glamour of art. His style and mood go back of the Sherlockian formula to Stevenson, who wrought as lovingly over a toy as over the soberest embodiment of his

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dreams. Uncle Abner is impressive, a good grim magician whose wand never fails. However, it was, no doubt, the mechanism of these tales and not their style that has given them entry, during the past few years, to the best-paying popular magazines.

Two other collections of extremely clever and highly finished tales are "John O'May" and "Gentlemen at Arms." Mr. Burt's manner is deliberate and sophisticate; what chiefly engages his fancy is the contrast between the extremes of urban refinement and luxury on the one hand and the red blood and privations of the frontier on the other. He does not keep quite clear of the current tricks of the "short story." He is addicted, for instance, to the quasi-philosophical introductory dictum popularized by Kipling and O. Henry. His first tale begins, "Adventure, mental or physical, is met with unexpectedly"; and his second, "One suspects an omniscient ironicism—or else a very great tenderness." But he does not confine himself to the evolutions of the magazine plot, or think it necessary to make a separate adventure of every finale. "Wings of the Morning" is more typical of his work than the title story. A worldly and apparently shallow city girl has been not over-happily wed to a conventional idler of her set. Their joint life has no solid kernel of human responsibility, and they are drifting apart on the vapid sea of fashionable existence when the war strikes. The man undertakes the adventure of the French flying service, and is presently killed, his memory being decorated with a war medal. The girl seems little moved; but something stirs beneath the surface of her social fatuities, and contact with the sage-brush hills and looming mountains of the free West releases it. There is after all a deep bond between her true self and that of her dead husband, upon which she is to set the ultimate seal. In the Preface to "Gentlemen at Arms" the author protests something too much. He "makes no claims—and possesses none—to be considered a writer of fiction." On the contrary, he wishes to be taken as the humble chronicler of certain experiences of his own or his fellow-officers at one or another front of the present war. But whatever their basis in fact, these are highly artful and even "literary" performances by one who in his impressionable years, one may guess, went to school consciously or unconsciously to the Kipling of the middle period. But they are not feebly imitative. They condense, as no mere documentary record can, the substance and flavor of some of the salient episodes and phases of the new warfare. Thus "The Tide of Battle" is really what it describes itself, "a story of the first battle of Ypres," though primarily an account of the part played therein by a single English battery. With its technical minutiæ, its crisp dialogue and rounded action (rounded, not obviously contrived), its effect is much like that of "The Honours of War" and "With the Night Mail." And it is clear that this English Captain's creative instinct is alive not only to the material closest at hand. One of the best stories of the series, "The Sower of Tares," has to do with the service of the British patrol corps in the North Sea, and almost every branch of the military service is represented in one or more of the tales. If recent rumor is true—that the American fiction-reading public is now reacting from the war book which is merely a record of personal experience to the war book which attempts some sort of interpretation of such experience—this volume should prove very much in order. It concludes with a thoughtful Epilogue upon "The Faith of the Soldier."

Notes

ON October 28 the Four Seas Company will publish "The Charnel Rose," by Conrad Aiken.

E. P. Dutton & Company will soon publish: "Life After Death," by James H. Hyslop; "American Problems of Reconstruction," by Franklin K. Lane; "Commercial Egg Farming," by S. G. Hanson; "Friendly Rhymes," by James W. Foley.

The Columbia University Press announces the following publications; "The Army and the Law," by Garrard Glenn; "A Russian Grammar," by John Dyneley Prince; "Dickens, Reade and Collins, Sensation Novelists," by W. C. Phillips; "Vergil and the English Poets," by Elizabeth Nitchie; "Studies in the Influence of the Classics on English Literature," by Ruth Ingersoll Goldmark; "The Newe Metamorphosis," by John Henry Hobart Lyon; "Lewis Theobald," by Richard F. Jones; "English Translations from the Greek," by Finley Melville Kendall Foster; "French Terminologies in the Making," by Harvey J. Swann; "The Holy Roman Empire in German Literature," by Edwin H. Zeydel; "On the Position in the Clause of Ne and Ut in Certain Documents of Colloquial Latin," by William Tingle Rowland; "Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy," by Pearl C. Wilson; "A Sumero-Babylonian Sign List to Which Is Added an Assyrian Sign List and a Catalogue of the Numerals, Weights, and Measures Used at Various Periods," by Samuel A. B. Mercer; "The Yemenite Manuscript of Pesahim," by Julius J. Price; "The Commentary of R. David Kimchi on Isaiah," by Louis Finkelstein; "R. David Kimchi's Commentary on Hosea," by Harry Cohen; "Commentaries on the Minor Prophets, Micah to Malachi," by Benjamin H. Birnbaum; "The Moral and Political Philosophy of John Locke," by S. P. Lamprecht.

THE position of the museum in the community is growing steadily more prominent, in spite of the war. Like the public library, the museum is now becoming a school and a laboratory, and is no longer a hushed housing of glass cases and cold casts. At the Metropolitan Museum in New York a new department has been started for the propagation of American Industrial Art, in charge of Dr. Richard H. Bach, curator of the School of Architecture, Columbia University, and a valued contributor to the *Nation*. Dr. Bach plans to help designers, craftsmen, and manufacturers by putting at their disposal and interpreting for their purposes material in the collections of the museum, and to establish a closer contact between the modern producer of American industrial arts and the finest traditions of other times.

BELIEVERS in reincarnation—a theory which has had a special fascination for dreamers of many ages—will find interesting reading in the "Karma" of Algernon Blackwood and Violet Pearn (Dutton; $1.60). This story, though told in dramatic form, with prologue, three acts, and epilogue, is more noteworthy for ingenuity of conception, comparative freshness of subject, and skilful literary relation than intrinsic dramatic quality. The mechanical fabric is often exceedingly obvious and crude, but the basic motive is well worked out, with varied and effective illustration and a shrewd sense of character. Each of the three central acts is a complete episode, of which the first is supposed to occur in ancient Egypt, the second in Athens in

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325 B. C., and the third in fifteenth-century Venice. In all the hero and heroine are the same personalities in different phases of existence. Herein lie opportunities for local and social coloring, of which the authors have made good use. In Egypt the hero, confronted with a decision that must determine his fate through an endless series of lives, and in disregard of a solemn warning by a venerable seer, spurns a call to the highest honors of the priesthood for the sake of the beautiful dancer who has bewitched him and whose selfish passion, as he is assured, must ever be a bar to his loftiest spiritual endeavor. Thus, in Athens, centuries afterward, and again in Venice, the same fatal love—honest, devoted, but unconsciously selfish—operates to block him in the path of highest honor, even when it contributes to his temporary success and profit. The woman is no traitress, but is possessed by a love wholly material and insensitive to the loftier impulses of the spirit. In her fourth estate, in prologue and epilogue, of the present day, she is the wife of a distinguished diplomatist, whom she compels to refuse a great post in Egypt—which was to be the crown of his career—because of her dread of that country arising from vague memories and imaginings by which she had been tortured. Then through the agency of a mysterious doctor, possibly the resurrected seer of the first act, her past is revealed to her in a vision, and she learns the secret of the mischief she has wrought and the meaning and power of ideal love. This is a work of uncommon merit in more ways than one. It is well written, contains striking situations and some vivid characterization. The weakness of it lies, not in its mysticism, which is adroitly and effectively handled, but in the arbitrary and manifestly improbable use of those convenient coincidences which more experienced playwrights would be careful to avoid. But, compared with most plays of the moment, it belongs to a superior order of intellectual and literary workmanship.

A TALE of buried treasure, of supposititious ghosts, and very real enemies is set before us in Richard le Gallienne's "Pieces of Eight" (Doubleday, Page; $1.40 net). It is an adventure not at all of the mind and very little of the heart. The story is modern, yet it remains at the end a plain treasure hunt with a feeble love motif. The narrative tells of the finding of an old paper, a sailing ship or two in search of gold, a clash with vicious scoundrels, an abduction, the finding of the treasure, the recapture of the abducted maiden, and a vision of future happiness; all this garnished with a few light songs, one really whimsical character, and many literary allusions and quips and turns. That is all: not thorough enough for such as can appreciate richness, not thrilling enough for such as want adventure.

IN his rather sensational novel, "Mrs. Marden's Ordeal" (Little, Brown; $1.50 net), John Hay, jr., has shown the effect of environmental education and has applied an almost Freudian science of dreams in an analysis of character and a study of consciously forgotten but subconsciously remembered actions. A murder is committed; love is lost between husband and wife; there is jealousy between friends. And the cause of all is a selfish woman. Peevish, petulant, and spoiled, she alternates between gloom and raging temper in her efforts after an impossible happiness. The doctors call it nerves; the psychologist calls it circumstance; the law calls it crime; and the Freudian enthusiast calls it "an interesting manifestation."

THOSE who follow Emerson's advice not to read a book until a year has passed to test its worth may now well read S. C. Hammer's "William the Second" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.50), which appeared in the Norwegian original in 1916. It is undoubtedly the best psychological study of the Kaiser. The author, however, does not work with elaborate psychological formulas nor lose himself in talk about "the soul of the people"; he writes simply as an historian who has followed the Kaiser at close hand for the past thirty years. He judges him out of his own mouth, quoting with excellent effect from his innumerable speeches. No one after reading these excerpts will carry away any impression of that modesty of character which is the unmistakable sign of a great soul. No one will learn from them the difficult art of self-criticism, or enlarge his political horizon with a single profound idea, or enrich his imagination with a single image.

A VALUE beyond what the scholar might incline to accord is to be found in André Chéradame's "The United States and Pan-Germania" (Scribner; $1 net). The writing is not particularly good; and there is much surmise and hypothesis used as a foundation for striking conclusions. And yet it is the merit of this earnest thinker and forceful writer that in the midst of mighty changes, rapid and confusing, while others hesitated, he put into very brief and simple statement some of the most important problems of the world at present, stating with passionate certainty things which could not be proved, but which seemed self-evident to him. It is his reward that now, deservedly or not, to his name more than any other is ascribed the authorship of ideas which form the essence of great state papers and which ultimately sway and move to determination millions upon millions of men. Roland P. Usher, in a book too harshly dealt with by critics, first declared to a large audience in this country that there was in central Europe the ambition to make a great Pan-Germanic realm; but it is M. Chéradame who has most insistently and successfully expounded this thesis. It is probable that if the author were writing at this moment he would say that along with the danger of a mighty Pan-Germany stretched across middle Europe and nearer Asia has arisen another fraught with even greater dangers—a Germany left to work her will, not in middle Europe alone, but also in Russia.

THE serious student of contemporary things who sees the title "The Willy-Nicky Correspondence: Being the Secret and Intimate Telegrams Exchanged Between the Kaiser and the Tsar" (Knopf; $1) is not apt to believe that he has in hand a significant contribution to historical literature. It should be said in defence of the publishers that this silly title does indeed render faithfully the spirit of the work, which consists of sixty-five telegrams interchanged during the years 1904-7 between the Czar of Russia, who always subscribed himself "Nicky," and the Emperor of Germany, who was sometimes "William," but usually "Willy." In this same intimate correspondence the King of England is "Uncle Bertie"; the Czarina, more dignified or less in the charmed circle, is always "Alice." The documents relate principally to the period of the Russo-Japanese war, and are mostly concerned with the attempts of Wilhelm to bring about an alliance between Germany and Russia, which after being concluded in secret was to be revealed to France, who might adhere to it, so that a great

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continental combination, really headed by the German Empire, would confront England in the affairs of the world. Besides throwing an interesting light on the Russo-Japanese war, the book has value for the student who would understand the antecedents of the present struggle.

THE American Institute of International Law and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have evidently lost none of their faith in Hague Conferences. At a time when this movement seems to have fallen more or less into discredit, the Institute publishes the "Acte Final de la session de la Havanne, 22-27 Janvier, 1917. Resolutions et Projets" (Oxford University Press), which strongly urges the convocation of a third Hague Conference; and the Director of the Carnegie Endowment publishes a monumental volume of "Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907" (Clarendon Press), edited, with an introduction, by James Brown Scott, Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. These volumes are edited with great care and intelligence, and will prove of the greatest value to students, publicists, diplomatists and statesmen. Many documents, such as the various proposals and reports of the proceedings of committees, are here made available to English readers for the first time.

AS a statement of the best-informed socialistic thought on the subjects with which Herman Cahn deals, his book, "Capital To-day: A Study of Recent Economic Development" (second edition. Putnam; $2.00 net), cannot be accepted without qualification. It is uncritical and sweeps along with the assurance of inspired conviction. The field is one whose complexities and subtleties are so extensive that the greatest caution and most complete mastery of all available materials are essential to original discussion of the matter. But Mr. Cahn merely rehearses the Marxian doctrines with some new illustrations gathered from financial papers and census reports. Since the first edition of his book, Mr. Cahn has also produced "The Collapse of Capitalism." The obsession of economic determinism in a pessimistic sense here appears with that strange enjoyment of gloom which must have upheld the Calvinists. "Early peace offers the prospect of the lingering death struggle of capitalism, its last years attended by widespread suffering and probably intense economic and political perturbation. . . . Continuance of the war assures the early and sudden downfall of capitalism in consequence of the world-wide failure of the financial mechanism." By those who accept Marx's original conception as even yet the law and gospel of economic thought, the apostolic command to keep the faith once for all delivered to the saints is thus rigidly obeyed.

THE volume entitled "Organized Banking" (Holt; $3) contains the substance of Professor Eugene E. Agger's college lectures on banking. The chapters, into which the lectures have been turned, include a simple exposition of the fundamental principles of banking, supplemented by a brief description of the main features of the banking systems of England, France, and Germany, and a more extended exposition of the United States system, including the Federal Reserve. The book is primarily adapted to student use, but will be found informing and interesting by others. The banker will be interested in the argument that banks do, or should, perform a "social service." The book is devoted almost exclusively to principles. History and description enter only for illustrative purposes. Some of that reiteration into which college professors so easily fall has not been eliminated in recasting the lectures in book form.

AS Henry C. Sheldon points out in his little book, "The Mystery Religions and the New Testament" (The Abingdon Press; 50 cents net), our stock of information about these religions is very slender. Of their general nature we know somewhat; of particulars little or nothing. "No one of these religions," he says, "has bequeathed a complete liturgy or ritual." It is true that Apuleius professes to describe scenes pertaining to the initiation into the Mysteries of Isis, and Albrecht Dieterich claims to have found in a Paris papyrus a substantially complete liturgy of Mithraism, but the legitimacy of his identification has been challenged. What we do know of them hardly seems to bear out the contention of those scholars who maintain that Christianity is deeply indebted to them for doctrine and ceremonial. The Mystery Religion, Dr. Sheldon observes, "was weak intellectually and ethically; it had not cut itself loose from mythology, and its ethic was lower than that of Seneca or of the philosophers in general. . . . No such statement, most assuredly, can be made concerning the New Testament." Dr. Sheldon does not agree with Renan's view that Mithraism was at one time a formidable rival of Christianity, if only because it never spread far beyond the military cantonments of the Empire and because it did not admit women as initiates. That the Mystery Religions may have employed ceremonials similar to Baptism and the Eucharist he does not deny, but he holds with Clemen and others that the sacred meals of the Mysteries were not really analogous to the Christian sacrament, and that, as Percy Gardner says, "we cannot trace in any of the more respectable forms of heathen religion a survival of the practice of eating the deity."

IT is time that Fabre's writings, which have been in use in French schools for years, should become available for similar use in America. "Insect Adventures" (World Book Co.; $1), "retold for young people" by Louise Seymour Hasbrouck and illustrated—somewhat too fancifully—by Elias Goldberg, contains twenty-five well-selected chapters from the "Souvenirs Entomologiques" that should afford good reading in elementary grades. A preface supplies the necessary minimum of information about Fabre; an index makes possible quick reference in a text that deals with many kinds of insects. In letterpress and binding the book is attractive enough for use outside the school.

"TROZOS de Historia" (Ginn & Co.), compiled by Mr. F. E. Spencer, is a Spanish historical reader consisting of numerous selections from the best Spanish and Latin-American historians. Important episodes in the history of the mother country are treated; there follow other passages treating of the discovery and conquest of the Spanish colonies, their wars for independence, and lastly their present status. Brief English introductions supply important information. There is no general introduction and no information concerning the writers quoted. The notes are exceedingly summary. The book is suitable for use in second and third-year courses or for outside collateral reading.

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A CURIOUS conglomeration of rhymes and poems, wretchedly arranged, is the collection called "Poems My Children Love the Best of All" (Lloyd Adams Noble), edited by Clifton Johnson. One wonders if the book might not have been improved had the children made it themselves.

A MOST interesting and useful little book has been written by Prof. Henry Prentiss Armsby in "The Conservation of Food Energy" (W. B. Saunders Company). Professor Armsby discusses briefly but clearly the amount of actual food value in terms of units of energy that human beings may hope to get out of our principal food crops, if they are used directly as human food, if they are fed to animals and the animal products are consumed, *or if they are milled and the offal is fed to animals*, the animal products being again used by man. In the case of wheat it appears that if the entire wheat is consumed by man as graham flour, 82.5 per cent. of the total energy becomes available for man's nutrition; if the wheat is fed to cattle, from 22 to 60 per cent. of the energy may be recovered by man; while if white flour is milled and the offal fed to stock, a total recovery of from 70 to 78 per cent. is possible. In the case of every food there is shown to be some loss of energy if all or part of the grain is fed to stock. This loss is least when it is fed to pigs and dairy cows, and greatest when fed to beef cattle and sheep. The matter is so clearly presented that one need not be a scientist to understand the book, and it will interest every one concerned with the high cost of living.

IN "Diseases of Truck Crops and Their Control" (Dutton) Dr. J. J. Taubenhaus has prepared a convenient reference work. Part III, which discusses the specific diseases of truck crops, is naturally the best part of the book, because here the author is in his own field. The diseases attacking each crop are described, special emphasis being placed on symptoms and control. As a book for the student, the work is disappointing. Parts I and II are full of loose statements not warranted even by the semi-popular character of the book. For example, the author states on page 11 that the spores of fungi "correspond to the seed of higher plants." On page 90 we read that the dodder is destitute of chlorophyll, and "for this reason must lead a parasitic life," and that "the plant obtains food by actually sending its own roots into the tissue of the attacked green plant." Such instances might be multiplied. While the practical trucker may not mind the almost complete absence of reference to foreign literature, such omission is strange in a work one of whose professed objects is to stimulate research. The book will be useful, but it shows too many signs of having been hastily put together in order to ride the crest of the present wave of interest in intensive crop production.

WHETHER one is an English poultry fancier or a plain American chicken farmer, he will welcome the handsome volume "My Poultry Day by Day," prepared by Alfred Gibson (Dodd, Mead; $2.50 net). Mr. Gibson provides a vast amount of useful information on breeding, proper food values, coöperation in chicken raising, the psychology of the fowl, and egg-laying competitions (though with no mention of the contests at Storrs, Connecticut!). But alas for Hoover hopes and American pride in corn: this English authority announces that "maize meal of itself will not do a great deal as an egg-forming food."

Music

A French Conductor for Boston

WHEN Major Higginson founded the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in 1881, he decided to spare no expense in making it as good as possible. Most of the violinists were secured in Vienna, while for his players of wood-wind instruments he went to France, which had long been famed for its flutists, clarinetists, oboeists, and bassoonists. The successive conductors—Henschel, Gericke, Nikisch, Paur, Fiedler, and Muck—came from Germany and Austria-Hungary. In view of the fact that these two countries have produced more first-class orchestral compositions than all other lands put together, it cannot, perhaps, be said that German music was unduly favored on the programmes of this organization. Most of the conductors named were fairly in sympathy with the spirit of French music, too. Nevertheless, one could not but wonder what the result would be if, in place of a Teuton or a Magyar, the Boston Orchestra had, in addition to its wood-winds, a *chef d'orchestre* from Paris.

This curiosity is to be gratified during the present season. Two Frenchmen have been engaged, Pierre Monteux for October and Henri Rabaud for the remaining concerts, not only in Boston, but for those given on tour in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, which last-named city is now again open to this organization. The orchestra has been unionized, and of the new members as many as possible were recruited in France. Judges who have attended rehearsals think the ensemble will soon be as good as ever.

Except in Boston, Pierre Monteux will not be heard at the head of the Boston Orchestra. His duties as conductor of the French operas at the Metropolitan Opera House prevent his acceptance of the post in Boston for more than a month. Nor is the conductorship of M. Rabaud to last longer than a year, for it is reported from Boston that Arturo Toscanini is to succeed him next year. He had promised to conduct "Nero," the posthumous opera of the late Arrigo Boïto, in Rome, which prevents him from coming to Boston now. In Italy this temperamental wielder of the baton is esteemed equally in concert hall and opera house. On this side of the Atlantic he still has to win his spurs as a purely orchestral conductor.

It by no means follows that because Boston's two new conductors are patriotic Frenchmen they will eschew all German music. M. Monteux has announced that he will have none of Richard Strauss or even of Richard Wagner, because of his foolish farce on the subject of the capitulation of Paris in 1871. But the older masters are not to be boycotted. M. Rabaud's intentions are not yet made known at this writing, but it is a safe surmise that he will not punish such innocent masters as Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven for the crimes of the present day. At the same time one cannot but hope that he will give certain overworked Teutonic symphonies and overtures a well-earned rest, substituting for them neglected masterworks of France and other countries. There are plenty of these, and it will be a delight to hear those that come from Paris interpreted in the true Gallic fashion. It is one of the paradoxes of music that only a Frenchman can quite reproduce the exact spirit and *esprit* of French music, whereas the best interpreters of German orchestral and operatic music have usually been Hungarians.

Between Bizet, Gounod, Berlioz, Debussy, Dukas, and Ravel there is a wide divergence of styles which will test the versatility of M. Rabaud. While he is best known as an operatic composer, he is far from being without experience as a conductor. It is almost superfluous to say that he is a product of the Paris Conservatoire, and, like nearly all prominent French composers, a winner of the *Prix de Rome*. Among his teachers was Massenet, from whom he acquired the knack of scoring an opera fluently. Of his three best-known operas, "La fille de Roland" (1904), "Le premier Glaive" (1908), and "Marouf" (1914), only the last is known in this country. It was produced at the Metropolitan with considerable success. For several years he has served as one of the conductors of the Paris Grand Opera. In appearance as well as in his music he is thoroughly French, and in the present temper of the public is sure of a cordial welcome.

HENRY T. FINCK

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Art

The Dublin Municipal Gallery of Modern Art

By ELLEN DUNCAN

THE Dublin Municipal Gallery comes as a pleasant surprise to many visitors to Ireland, for it is hardly to be expected that one of the finest collections of modern pictures in any public gallery should be found in a poor country whose geographical position places it somewhat out of reach of the great art centres of the world. Ireland's debt to the late Sir Hugh Lane for his generosity and public spirit in founding the gallery and endowing it so richly can never be overestimated.

Before it came into existence ten years ago the Irish artist and art student had few opportunities of seeing good modern work. Usually too poor to leave his own country, he lived and worked completely cut off from all contact with the movements of the day; and though Ireland produced painters like Sir John Lavery, Sir William Orpen, and the late Nathaniel Hone, these were the happy exceptions enabled by fortunate circumstances to travel and widen their views of art and the world. The collection in the Dublin Municipal Gallery has been a boon to the home-keeping Irish student, and its influence can be traced in the work of more than one of the talented group of young painters in Ireland to-day; while the effect on public taste has been no less remarkable. Dublin, ten years ago, was provincial in its standards; it has now ceased to be so, and has come into line with other cities less remote from modern influences.

Sir Hugh Lane recognized the genius of the Irish artist, and first conceived the idea of making Ireland a centre for the arts of painting and sculpture, as it had already become a centre for poetry and the drama. He determined to acquire for his projected gallery some of the best obtainable examples of French nineteenth-century art, pictures by the great masters of the Barbizon school and the later Impressionists, bronzes by Rodin, and a representative collection of the best contemporary work. Fate so far favored him that in 1904, when the Staats-Forbes collection came into the market, he secured from the executors a lien on the best pictures in that collection. These were exhibited in Dublin at a Winter Exhibition of the Royal Hibernian Academy, and a number of them were purchased by individual donors, by public subscription, and by Sir Hugh Lane himself. The famous series of works by Constable, Corot, Fantin, and others were acquired, and round this nucleus the collection rapidly grew. Pictures and pieces of sculpture were presented by living artists of distinction who were invited by Sir Hugh Lane to contribute examples of their work, and he himself gave about one hundred pictures and pieces of sculpture, including a fine early Watts, a Whistler, an Albert Moore, and Rodin's great masterpiece L'Age d'Airain. Finally, in 1908, the collection was taken over by the Municipality of Dublin and housed in an old Georgian mansion in Harcourt Street, where it still remains.

This beautifully proportioned house, an admirable specimen of Dublin domestic architecture of the best period, with its richly decorated ceilings and ornamental plaster work, is, however, so badly lighted as to be unsatisfactory for the proper display of the pictures, while the wall space is wholly inadequate for a growing collection. The provision of a new building, which was in contemplation by the Corporation of Dublin before the war, has had to be postponed.

As a whole, the collection represents very fairly the distinctive art impulses of the nineteenth century. There is, however, at the moment an important link missing in the chain, for the superb collection of French Impressionist pictures by Manet, Renoir, and other painters of their period which Sir Hugh Lane bought expressly for the Dublin Gallery, and which were hung there for six years as his "Conditional Gift," are there no longer. These pictures were promised on condition that a new building be provided within a specified time, but, owing to an unfortunate controversy about the site, this was not done; and Sir Hugh Lane, disappointed at the failure of the scheme on which he had set his heart, removed the pictures and lent them to the London National Gallery, at the same time making an alteration in his will in favor of London. Before his death, however, he reverted to his original intention and drew out with his own hand, and signed, a codicil to his will, definitely leaving the pictures to the Dublin Municipal Gallery. Unfortunately, this codicil is unwitnessed, and therefore inoperative according to English law, though in Scotland it would have legal validity. But as all the members of Sir Hugh Lane's family and several intimate friends have come forward publicly to testify their belief that the codicil expresses his last wishes, and only remained unwitnessed owing to the testator's ignorance of legal forms, a clear case has been established for the introduction of a bill into Parliament to give effect to this document. It is expected that this will be done in the near future.

The great forerunners of the Impressionists—Constable, Corot, Monticelli, Fantin, Harpignies, Bonvin—are all to be studied in Dublin in interesting examples. There are seven little landscapes by Constable, every one of which is a gem; spontaneous impressions of the moods of nature, which in their delightful sincerity and freshness far surpass in interest many of his more ambitious studio pictures. The Corots, too, are a wonderful group, and show the art of this painter at all stages of its evolution. Indeed, it is doubtful whether Corot can be studied anywhere else outside the Louvre as he can in Dublin. One of his earliest pictures is here, and one of his latest—a sunset landscape painted on his deathbed; and there is a charming work of his Italian period, Rome from the Pincio, very precise and definite, with its masses of trees in the foreground framing a distant view of the Eternal City. There are several landscapes in the more familiar Corot manner in which lush meadows and vaporous skies are rendered with the most subtle and delicate gradations of tone. Other important pictures of the foreign schools are the two Monticellis, which, with their gem-like radiance, are a perpetual joy to lovers of pure color; an interesting Head of a Young Man by Ingres; a study of a peasant woman by Degas; a fine example of Fantin's inimitable flower painting; a late and very beautiful Daubigny—a broadly painted river scene with a stormy sky; Monet's famous Waterloo Bridge; a delightful little work, The Shower, by Mauve; a seascape by Boudin; and one of Troyon's best works, Cutting Brushwood. Such later painters as Le Sidaner, Charles Cottet, Legros, Mancini, Previati, Conrad Kryzanowski, Mesdag, Roelofs, Blanche, and Boldoni are well represented in the collection.

Turning to the works by British and American painters, among the older pictures are a portait of a lady by Watts, which is almost eighteenth-century in its dignity and grace, as well as two later works by this master; a beautiful Millais of the pre-Raphaelite period; Whistler's lovely study for The Artist's Studio, and a portrait by him of Walter Sickert; Burne-Jones's Sleeping Princess from the Briar Rose series; and works by Albert Moore, Henry Moore, Orchardson, Simeon Solomon, and others. The later painters represented include Mr. J. S. Sargent, by whom there are two portraits—one of Sir Hugh Lane and one of Lady Charles Beresford—as well as a fascinating Italian landscape; Mr. P. Wilson Steer, some of whose finest landscapes are to be found in the Dublin collection; Sir John Lavery, by whom there are four portraits, including those of the late John Redmond and Sir Edward Carson; Charles Conder; Mr. William Nicholson; Mr. Cayley Robinson; Sir William Orpen; and Mr. Augustus John. The two painters last named are particularly well represented in Dublin, the former by a brilliant still-life piece, a breezy landscape, and an interesting series of portraits which include Lord MacDonnell, Sir John Mahaffy, Mr. William O'Brien, Michael Davitt, Mr. Birrell, the late Nathaniel Hone, R.H.A., and the artist himself; the latter by a large decorative landscape with figures, and four portraits, every one of which is a masterpiece.

It is to be expected that an Irish art gallery should contain a representative collection of works by Irish painters, and, though the Dublin Municipal Gallery can in no sense be regarded as mainly local in its interest, it is fortunate in possessing a number of fine examples of the most distinguished Irish painters of the last half century. Sir John Lavery and Sir William Orpen, both "Irish of the Irish," have already been mentioned, but Nathaniel Hone, whose recent death at an advanced age has robbed Ireland of the greatest landscape painter she has yet produced, is not less distinguished. The

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last survivor of the Barbizon School—he had worked with Corot in his youth—Nathaniel Hone had for many years devoted himself to painting the seacoasts and pastures of his native land. An artist of sombre power and a very personal gift of interpretation, he succeeded as no other painter has done in conveying a sense of the spirit of desolate beauty that haunts the deserted coasts of Ireland. The Dublin Gallery is fortunate in possessing some of the finest of these Irish landscapes and several examples of Hone's earlier work. Mr. John Butler Yeats, an Irish painter who has for some years past made his home in New York, is well represented. The portraits by him in the Dublin collection include an interesting early portrait of Mr. W. B. Yeats, one of Sir Horace Plunkett, and one of Mr. Standish O'Grady. Among the other painters in the "Irish Room" are the late Walter Osborne, Mr. J. J. Shannon, Mr. Jack Yeats —by whom there are several characteristic studies of West of Ireland types—Mr. W. J. Leech, and Mr. John Keating.

I have left myself no space to speak of the small but excellent collection of sculpture, which includes seven works by Rodin, among them a bust in marble of Mr. George Bernard Shaw and one in bronze of Mr. Thomas Fortune Ryan; a bust of Lady Gregory by Epstein; one of Tolstoy by Aronsen; and works by Dalou Maillol, Alfred Stevens, Barye, and others. Nor can I even glance at the delightful rooms where the water colors and drawings are hung, with their Barbizons, their Conders, their interesting sketches by Constantin Guys, their Johns and Orpens. The Dublin Municipal Gallery, reflecting as it does the personal taste and judgment of its founder, and containing a collection of modern art unique of its kind, deserves the high esteem in which it is held by those critics who have placed it second in interest only to the Luxembourg.

Drama

"Redemption"

AMONG the host of inconsiderable productions in the opening weeks of the new dramatic season that of "Redemption," by Arthur Hopkins, in the Plymouth Theatre, stands out prominently as a serious and intelligent artistic effort. This is an abbreviated but, on the whole, faithful and capable English version of Tolstoy's "The Living Corpse," which, doubtless, is familiar to most of our readers. The play, although carrying the prestige of a famous name in literature, is not a masterpiece of drama, being vague in meaning, specious in argument, and unskilful in construction, but is notable for the wealth of its diverse characterization, vivid and realistic portrayal of Russian types, and eloquent suggestion of some of the conditions that recently brought down the whole social fabric in tragic chaos. On the surface a violent and somewhat illogical arraignment of the divorce laws as enforced by Church and State, it is supposed to be charged with a weighty satirical and political significance, and it is this confusion of motives that constitutes its chief weakness. Allegory on the stage is ever fraught with peril unless it is clear and definite. Considered simply as realistic melodrama, with superior literary attributes—and it belongs to no higher category—"Redemption" is steadily interesting and at times exceedingly effective, but it fails to be convincing on account of the manifest artificiality of the personages in the central domestic triangle, whose conduct is utterly inconsistent with their alleged characters. The author, for the purpose of his thesis, plainly wished to represent them as innocent and helpless victims of circumstances over which they had no control. But in this he has not succeeded. They are all active contributors to their own misfortunes. The power of the piece lies in individual scenes, in the dialogue, in the variety and picturesqueness of minor detail and personality, not in its entirety.

But, at any rate, here is a play of solid intellectual merit, by a great man, and of indisputable present interest, which has found an intelligent and appreciative producer. Such an incident is sufficiently rare in the contemporary theatre to be worthy of recognition. The task undertaken by Mr. Hopkins was one of considerable difficulty. In the very nature of the case, owing to the great number of scenes, either a realistic or a spectacular setting was practically out of the question. He has solved the dilemma tactfully, and, on the whole, very successfully, by using bare walls—which play the part of screens or curtains—indicating the locality by such furniture as is absolutely necessary, and employing the resources of modern lighting. This scheme, of course, ignores the realistic nature of the piece, and leaves much to the imagination of the audience, but is executed with unfailing taste and an admirable sense of color. The effect is always artistic and occasionally, as in the Gypsy scene, for instance, uncommonly striking. The realism is exemplified in the acting, which, as a rule, is delightfully free from affectation or exaggeration and, if not especially Russian, uncommonly life-like. The space at disposal will not permit of detailed description, but some of the work done by Russ Whytal, Zeffie Tilbury, Maude Hanaford, and Herbert Druce is of exceptional artistic excellence. The whole representation, indeed, is praiseworthy, but, unfortunately, there is a weak spot in the Fédya of Mr. John Barrymore, who, although he labors most conscientiously and not without perception, has not the resources of either speech or action to vitalize a character so baffling and complex. J. R. T.

"The Saving Grace"

A VIGOROUS and captivating personality which almost shadows his rare skill as an actor always insures Mr. Cyril Maude an enthusiastic following. It matters not at all that his latest play, "The Saving Grace" (by C. Haddon Chambers), is entirely devoid of plot or situation. So long as it affords blustering "Fighting Blinn" his manly swing up and down the shabby parlor, calls forth his pompous monologues, to which the family forget to listen, and lets him turn his little epigram, "The sardine is the skylark of the ocean," the audience is more than content. In striking contrast to the military man, with his infectious mirth, is the idolizing wife, devoid of all sense of humor. Miss Laura Hope Crews draws the character deftly and with truth. The two long-suffering servants, the cheerful niece, her rather imbecile lover and his domineering mother are all well portrayed, and the whole performance has finish and distinction. But the audience apparently asks nothing more than Blinn Corbett's self-satisfied smile and his contagious "Well——Well——well-well-well-well."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

(All prices are net.)

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Goad, Caroline. Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. Yale University Press. $3.
Holliday, R. C. Walking-Stick Papers. Doran. $1.50.
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Whiteford, R. N. Motives in English Fiction. Putnam. $2.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Moravia, Charles. Autres Poèmes de Henri Heine. The Haytian Library. 75 cents.
Richardson, J. E. The Forest Altar. Privately printed.

THE ARTS

Mason, D. G. Contemporary Composers. Macmillan. $2.

FICTION

Cohen, Rose. Out of the Shadow. Doran. $2.
Gregory, Jackson. Six Feet Four. Dodd, Mead. $1.50.
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Robins, Elizabeth. Camilla. Dodd, Mead. $1.50.
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Turner, J. H. Simple Souls. Scribners. $1.35.
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TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

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Phelps, W. L. Archibald Marshall. Dodd, Mead. 50 cents.
Pope-Hennessy, Mrs. Madame Roland. Dodd, Mead. $5.
Some Hawarden Letters: 1878-1913. Dodd, Mead. $4.
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NATURAL SCIENCE

Barjon, F. Radio-diagnosis of Pleuro-Pulmonary Affections. Yale University Press. $2.50.
Boerker, R. H. D. Our National Forests. Macmillan. $2.50.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Clarke, I. C. The Little Democracy. Appleton. $1.50.

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Barton, G. A. The Religion of Israel. Macmillan. $2.
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Efros, I. I. The Problem of Space in Jewish Mediæval Philosophy. Columbia University Press.
Spiritual Reconstruction. Dodd, Mead. $1.

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Black, F. B. The Chronicle of Kan-Uk the Kute. Putnam. $1.
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Scott, E. C. The Loyalty of Elizabeth Bess. Macmillan. $1.35.
Smith, Jessie Willcox. The Little Mother Goose. Dodd, Mead.

MISCELLANEOUS

Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 61. Teton Sioux Music.
Lindsay, Forbes. Everyday Efficiency. Crowell. $1.25.

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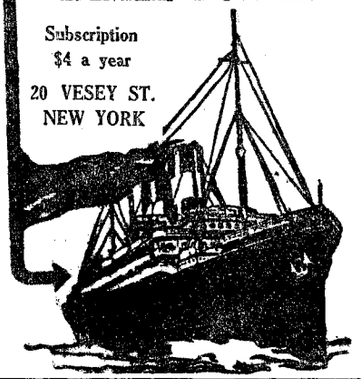

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Two Sections

Section II

International Relations Section

Vol. CVII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1918 No. 2781

Foreign Investments After the War

By WILLIAM S. KIES

THE subject of foreign investments after the war is of vital interest to this country. Foreign investments create foreign trade, and the increase in the productive capacity of the country during the war will necessitate the finding of markets for our surplus products if this country is to be commercially and industrially prosperous. But the subject of foreign investments must be considered from another angle as well. The United States after the war will have larger reserves of capital than any other nation, and because of its lateness in entering the war and the enormous wealth of its resources will recuperate much more rapidly from the effects of the war. Just as it entered the war from a sense of duty and placed at the disposal of its Allies its entire resources in men and capital, so after the war its duty may be clear to use its surplus capital for the restoration of devastated Europe, the help of stricken Russia, and the building up of the backward nations of the world.

Whether we desire it or not, the United States hereafter must play a major part in international affairs. We are fast becoming the greatest creditor nation in the world. Four years ago it is estimated that this country owed Europe over $4,000,000,000. To-day the world owes the United States, if advances to the Allies are considered, more than two and one-half times that amount. We have in the vaults of this country over 35 per cent. of all the gold in the world. The balance of trade in favor of this country for the first four years of the war, ending with July, 1918, is over $10,100,000,000. There has been no greater change wrought by the war than the transformation of the United States from a borrowing to a lending nation of first importance.

Our financial strength has been materially increased as a result of the operation of the Federal Reserve system. Before the war the United States was suffering under archaic banking and currency laws. The banking system was inelastic and incapable of meeting the strain of economic and financial emergencies. Financial panics were of more or less frequent occurrence, due very largely to the inability of our banking system to permit the proper mobilization of credits in an emergency. The Federal Reserve act has provided a banking and currency system sufficiently elastic to meet almost any situation, as was fully proved at the beginning of the war in the greatest financial emergency that ever confronted the country. It has permitted the marshalling of the capital resources of the country in such a manner as to make possible the assumption of enormous financial burdens, thus far without seriously affecting business. After the war, it will enable the reserve capital resources of the country to be drawn upon for foreign investment to an extent impossible under the old system.

Before the war the United States was little interested in the subject of foreign investments. A few foreign loans, it is true, had been marketed here, and a great deal of American money had found its way into Mexico, Cuba, and some of the Caribbean countries; but these investments were in the main rather of the nature of substantial private enterprises, as, for example, the investments of mining companies in Mexico and the West Coast of South America, the fruit companies in the Caribbean, the packers in South America, the asphalt company in Venezuela, and various ventures in Hayti and the Central American republics. There was, however, no general market for securities resulting from any of these ventures, or from loans to Governments, provinces, municipalities, or public utilities in foreign countries. This was due to several causes, among which may be mentioned the failure to appreciate the necessity of building up the foreign trade of the country and the close connection between foreign investments and foreign trade; the fact that we were still in a period of development and ourselves drew upon the capital reserves of other nations for the development of our own resources; the extravagance of our people and their apparent inability to accumulate capital reserves; the natural timidity of our investors, due to ignorance of commercial geography, their lack of knowledge of other countries, and their failure to understand and appreciate the customs, the characteristics, and the ideals of other peoples; a certain narrowness of vision which confined our view to our own boundary lines; in a word, to our inability as a nation to think internationally.

The war has awakened this country to an appreciation of its financial strength and power. Our national horizon has been extended and our vision broadened. We have acquired a sense of responsibility along with the recognition of our financial power. We are looking forward to greater participation in the constructive work of the world. The country is learning to save, and already understands that its savings must go to fill the reservoir of capital which must feed the streams which are to flow into devastated France, Poland, Belgium, and the Balkan States to restore and rebuild what the war has destroyed.

The need for capital after the war will be great. The war has arrested progress in nations untouched by it, and has worked havoc and destruction in those upon which its grim hand has rested so heavily. It is necessary now to mobilize the resources of all the Allied nations in an effort to win the war, and to see that all of the capital resources of all the nations are husbanded to the utmost and used only for the one great purpose. After the war, it may be that the supply of reserve capital will be so small in comparison with the world's needs that for a period of time some plan of international regulation of capital expenditures will have to be employed, to the end that the most pressing needs of the world may be first taken care of. The longer the war,

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the larger will be the expenditure of capital and the greater the possibility of international action for its control.

Let us review briefly the capital demands which will be made upon the world after the war. The destruction in France, Belgium, Poland, and the Balkan States amounts to many billions of dollars. Huge amounts of steel, machinery, raw materials for manufacturing purposes, railway equipment, and building and construction material of every kind will be needed to rebuild these devastated countries. The United States will be called upon to furnish a large amount of these necessaries, but none of the countries named will be able to pay cash, and, consequently, credits must be established through some form of security. The volume of these credits will be so large that it may not be possible to float the securities except through Governmental assistance. The United States has adopted the policy of lending to its Allies vast sums of money to help them finance their own war expenses. If loans to devastated European countries are not internationalized or sufficient indemnities cannot be collected from the Central Powers, the United States as a nation may be called upon to make loans to the neediest sufferers among its Allies for reconstruction purposes.

This step may also prove necessary for another reason. The United States to-day is organized for war. All of its industries are rapidly being made a part of the great war machine. These industries next year are expected to produce approximately $15,000,000,000 worth of munitions, equipment, supplies, and materials of all kinds needed for war work. Huge contracts covering these requirements have been let, but practically all of these contracts have in them cancellation provisions. With the ending of the war must come reorganization from a war to a peace basis. Cancellation on a large scale of war orders will produce an unsettlement of market conditions in every line, with possible economic disaster to follow, unless means can be found for an immediate market for the production which may be diverted from war uses to peace purposes. Take the steel industry as an illustration; if, upon the cessation of the making of guns, shells, and steel for war purposes, there should immediately be provided a market for steel for buildings, for railways, and for general construction, then this industry could continue its operations, keep labor employed, and adjust itself to a peace basis without serious difficulties. The demand for steel in great quantities will undoubtedly exist, but unless credits can be established by Europe in this country the steel will not be shipped to Europe, because the manufacturer is in no position to finance his purchaser over any extended period. If the Government of the United States does not provide the credits for Europe through loans, then a great task will confront American financial leaders in the development of a broad, general market throughout this country capable of absorbing these securities.

Next to the capital needs of devastated Europe, and of almost equal importance, will be the demands of Russia. The physical needs of Russia are great. Billions of dollars will be required for the construction of railways and other necessary public utilities. Russia is practically bankrupt, and while it is a country with resources of incalculable value, nevertheless capital in large amounts must be provided to reorganize the country and start it on its road to prosperity.

After Russia comes China. This vast country, with its 400,000,000 people, is the greatest potential market in the world. Its resources have been undeveloped because of a lack of capital and of the leadership which comes with capital. Students of Chinese affairs generally agree that if capital were to be invested in China in building up a sound banking and currency system, and means were furnished for mobilizing the savings of China, a large part of the capital needed for railway construction could be found in China itself. China is also an international problem; all the important nations of the world have been keen to participate in its development and have been jealous of the activities of one another in the field. At the moment, Japan has obtained a predominating position in China through numerous recent loans, and has obtained various important concessions as its compensation.

China at the moment is disorganized. A conflict is raging between the North and the South. China has declared war on Germany, and as an ally is entitled to consideration and help. Her great need is for railways and other means of transportation. The markets of China must remain open, and the capital needed for the industrial development of the country ought, therefore, to be furnished on terms that will not place her under the control or dictation of any Power. Capital advances to China, as well as to Russia and the devastated countries of Europe, may properly be considered as international problems connected with and arising out of the war, and as suitable subjects for discussion at the peace table. In fact, the creation of some kind of international Capital Issues Committee, with a system of priorities governing the allotment of capital, has been suggested.

At the beginning of the war, Latin America was developing rapidly. England and Germany alone had invested approximately $4,000,000,000 in South America. The war shut off South America's source of capital. Railways, public works, and other developments dependent upon outside capital were brought to a standstill. South America looked to this country. We were slow in responding, but during 1915–16 a number of South American loans were floated in the American market, and some projects were undertaken and financed by American capital. The development of a market for South American securities was a slow process, but real progress was being made when the United States entered the war and further efforts in this direction had to be abandoned. Latin America, by reason of its proximity, should afford a large market for American goods. In the past, the Latin American republics have at times shown a certain suspicion of the motives of the United States. Happily, these suspicions have been cleared away, and the relations between the United States and the sister republics of Latin America are today cordial.

The remainder of the world has little claim upon the United States. We have never concerned ourselves in Africa, in India, or in the more distant parts of Asia. In these countries, England, France, Belgium, and Italy have colonies, and have assumed the responsibility of furnishing capital for development purposes. Whether those countries can take care of the needs of their colonies after the war is questionable. But, with the possible exception of the investment of American capital in certain distant parts of the world in the development of raw materials upon which some of our industries depend—as, for example, rubber—

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the interests of the United States as a lending nation will probably be confined, in the next decade, to the countries and groups mentioned.

What shall be the future policy of the United States in the matter of foreign investments? Our Government has been criticised in the past because it has failed to give protection to American investors in foreign countries. Our policy, it must be admitted, has not been a consistent one. Under some Administrations the rights of American investors in foreign countries have been aggressively protected, while under others American investors have been told in effect that their investment in a foreign country was at their own risk.

It has been urged that a firm Governmental policy for the protection of investments in foreign countries would lead to international complications and be provocative of war. The roots of the present war, it is urged, may be found in the strife among nations over the control of foreign markets through the investment of capital, and the attempt by this means to obtain important concessions and rights. Foreign investments may be divided into two general classes—political and non-political. Illustrations of what might be termed political loans are: loans carrying with them port or harbor concessions with powers of administration and the collection of charges; the granting of large areas of land for purposes of exploitation with complete power of control and government; the giving of franchises for the construction of important and strategic railways, conferring upon the lender complete control in the management and administration; and the granting of monopolistic privileges of various kinds. The United States has in the past made few loans that might come within this class, although the loan to China in connection with the European group might possibly be classed as such. Our investments in the Caribbean countries and in South America have been made in the main through the agency of private corporations organized to develope a particular industry or area.

Under non-political investments may be classed loans made directly to foreign Governments without compensation in the way of concessions or privileges, as, for example, American loans to Argentina; loans made to municipalities or provinces, to organized railways or public utilities, or to foreign private enterprises; and direct investments in development projects. Loans made to foreign Governments for the purpose of financing needed public improvements, including with such advances contracts for construction and materials, may likewise be classed as non-political where they do not carry any special control over the improvement when completed.

In so far as our needs demand the development of foreign markets, the bankers of the United States ought to be free in the future to make loans and investments that will aid in building up permanent markets for surplus American goods. They should be free to make both classes of loans, because the past history of the United States and its national ideals are a guarantee against any policy of aggression looking towards territorial aggrandizement or interference with the freedom of peoples. A definite policy, however, should be adopted in connection with non-political investments, which, it is expected, will in the future be made in large amounts as soon as the capital reserves of this country are sufficient for the task. In these cases the investor has the right to ask for such protection on the part of his Government as will guarantee to him the protection and equal application of the laws of the country in which he invests. He should ask for nothing more. If his contract is unconscionable or illegal, or if he has not taken proper steps under the laws of the country in which he is investing to protect himself, his Government should not help him. The development of a market for foreign securities in this country will be easier than before the war, because millions of people who formerly hardly knew what a bond was are now owners of United States Government bonds. But the outlining of a definite American policy in connection with the investment of capital by American citizens in foreign countries is absolutely essential to the development of our investment interests in foreign markets and to the permanent upbuilding of our foreign trade.

The Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference

By HERBERT W. HORWILL.

THE chairman of the first day's proceedings of the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference at London, September 17-20, declared that no such representative gathering of the Allies had been held during the war. The statement must be considerably discounted. For one thing, the composition of the gathering was one-sided. Out of a total of 74 full delegates, 42 were British. On one occasion, when the Continental vote was swamped by a British majority, a pardonable irritation drew from Jean Longuet the protest that the convention amounted to merely a British conference with some foreign guests. Another defect was that some of the national delegations were incomplete. No one was present, for instance, from the Italian Official Socialists or as a delegate from Russia, and a representative of the General Labor Federation of the Piræus could hardly be accepted as a spokesman for the labor and Socialist movement in the whole of Greece.

At the similar conference held last February the sessions were private. This time the press was admitted. As a result, the feeling of the conference can be much better understood by the general public. A mere daily issue of an official record of the resolutions adopted would have given a quite misleading impression of unanimity. For instance, a resolution expressing deepest sympathy with "the labor and Socialist organizations of Russia, which, after having destroyed their own imperialism, continue an unremitting struggle against German imperialism," was accepted by Jean Longuet and several other French delegates only on the understanding that it included the Bolshevists. Other members made it clear that they would not have agreed to it for a moment on that interpretation.

Several of the resolutions adopted by the Conference were really patched-up peaces which enabled it to present the appearance of a united front, while at the same time they were so framed that diverse meanings could be read into them. The resolution on the Austrian note was another case in point. The *Times* hailed it the next morning as a statement "both weighty and opportune," which would destroy any hopes of pacifist intrigues and was in itself enough to justify the holding of the Conference. The Glasgow *Herald* simultaneously declared that in passing this resolution the members of the Conference showed themselves the moral allies of Austria, and were playing the game of the Central Powers; and it was surprised that the American delegates should have given even a reluctant assent to it.

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This resolution on the Austrian peace proposals was hammered out in long discussions. The prevailing opinion evidently was that such approaches should be answered only by joint replies from the Allied Governments. America's precipitate action came in for some hard knocks. "It may be magnificent," said J. Ramsay Macdonald, "to answer in half an hour, but it is not war." It was urged in defence of President Wilson that he was justified in sending a speedy and separate reply, because he was able to refer the Austrians to the full declaration he had previously made in his "fourteen points." Albert Thomas, however, remarked that reference to the "fourteen points" was by no means adequate as a statement of present American policy. One of the points, for instance, was quite inconsistent with the subsequent recognition of the Czecho-Slovaks. If Mr. Lansing had taken a little more than half an hour to consider the matter, this might have occurred to him. M. Thomas suggested, also, that the speedy methods of America, which they all admired in industrial matters, were not so suitable to diplomacy. The resolution, as already shown, may be made to mean a variety of contradictory things, but the discussion itself clearly proved that the sense of the Conference was against curt and hasty replies to peace proposals, and strongly in favor of considered answers made jointly.

The situation in Russia came up for consideration on the first day, when the status of delegates from that country had to be settled. Actually, the problem resolved itself, for the delegates did not receive their passports in time to be present at any of the sessions. There was much division of opinion as to whether or not Russia must now be regarded as an enemy country. Two speakers agreed that it must be so regarded, but for different reasons: J. Sexton, because the Bolshevist Government had declared war on Great Britain, and Jean Longuet, because the capitalist Governments of Great Britain and France had declared war on the Soviets. The Conference, on the whole, agreed with Arthur Henderson that it should not say, what the Allied Governments had not yet said, that Russia had ceased to be one of the Allies. On behalf of the more numerous section of the French Socialists and part of the delegation from the French trade unions, Jean Longuet submitted a resolution strongly protesting against Allied intervention in Russia and demanding that it be withdrawn. In his own speech, he went so far as to denounce it as a crime. The general attitude of the Conference was non-committal. It was against any kind of intervention that favored reactionary tendencies, but professed itself too imperfectly acquainted with the facts to decide whether the steps that had been taken were of that nature. Ultimately a resolution was adopted that, "in conformity with article 6 of the fourteen points of President Wilson, the present efforts of the Allied Governments to assist the Russian people must be influenced only by a genuine desire to preserve liberty and democracy in an ordered and durable world-peace, in which the beneficent fruit of the Revolution shall be made permanently secure." The vote on this resolution was taken after an application of the closure which evoked vigorous protests from the majority of the French and several of the British delegates, the French members declaring that if such a thing were repeated they would leave the Conference.

The first paragraph of the report of the War Aims Committee described the war as "a conflict between autocratic and democratic institutions." This was stoutly contested by J. W. Kneeshaw, of Birmingham, who maintained that this conflict was going on inside the belligerent countries themselves and would not be decided by a military victory. He complained that the Allied Governments were meeting behind the scenes and conspiring against democracy; they had never once come together to decide how to establish a league of nations or to fulfil their promises to the democracy, but only to extend the power of the Allied financiers and imperialists. Needless to say, this account of the situation aroused vehement dissent. J. Sexton, in particular, denounced Mr. Kneeshaw's speech as "an abominable piece of treachery," and other speakers, including Sidney Webb and Albert Thomas, combated his account, based on a recent utterance of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons—Mr. Lloyd George's remark about a "compact" or "obligation of honor" to France—of the origin of the war.

The question of meeting enemy Socialists, which was expected to be one of the main issues of the Conference, was not actually reached until the last hour or two of the four days' session. The Conference accepted a resolution, sent in by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labor party, expressing deep regret that the reply of the German majority did not accept the London proposals and failed officially to accept even the neutrals' proposals as a basis of discussion. "So long as these points remain unanswered, they create an obstacle to the holding of an International Conference." A. Bourderon's motion to substitute "difficulty" for "obstacle" was rejected. An amendment by Samuel Gompers, that they should meet in conference only those delegates of the Central Powers who were in open revolt against their autocratic Governments, was also defeated by 65 votes to 25, and the resolution as originally drafted was carried.

It is a singular circumstance that the representative of one of the countries which has suffered most severely from the war was the strongest opponent of anything savoring of a *jusqu'au bout* policy. D. Popovitch, the only delegate from the Serbian Socialists, not only dissented from the statement that the present war was a conflict between autocracy and democracy, but declared his conviction that all war was wrong. He disapproved wholly of intervention in Russia, and was not satisfied with President Wilson's fourteen points. Next to the Serbian, the French delegates showed themselves the least intransigent. They revealed their attitude on the opening day, in the loud applause with which they greeted the chairman's reference to a league of nations and his declaration that no avenue should be left unexplored that might lead to peace. They showed it again in the contemptuous laughter with which they received the interpreter's translation of the more vehement British replies to Mr. Kneeshaw. As might have been anticipated, the division between the two sections of the French Socialists was occasionally evident, but Jean Longuet's section, now in the majority, generally received the support of Jouhaux, Merrheim, and the other delegates from the Confédération Générale du Travail. Jean Longuet made an impassioned appeal to Englishmen and Americans to consider the state of France, which had lost about 1,700,000 men in the war—an estimate whose accuracy was subsequently contested by P. Renaudel. If the war were continued much longer, there would, said Longuet, still be a France on the map of Europe, but there would be no French race.

The British delegates were present as members either of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress or of the National Executive of the Labor party. Neither the Independent Labor party nor the British Socialist party was officially represented as such, but they made their influence felt indirectly through membership in the other delegations. It was pointed out by critics of Mr. Kneeshaw's speech that he expressed the views of only a minority of British labor. That is undoubtedly true, but it is a minority which is powerful enough to secure considerable representation on the committees of both the Trades Union Congress and the Labor party. One of its members, J. Ramsay Macdonald, is treasurer of the Labor party and was appointed chairman of the committee on credentials of the Conference itself. It was perhaps significant that throughout the Conference the strongest and most uncompromising supporters of the majority position were to be found among the older men. It is not an unfair criticism, too, to remark that this section showed itself rather muddle-headed. It raised no objection, on the first day, to the passing of a standing order that allowed individual delegates to send up motions to the committee, and was surprised and indignant to discover, on the morrow, that this rule made it possible for resolutions to be considered by the committee without having been first submitted to, and approved by, a whole delegation *en bloc*. The American delegation, most definite and pronounced on some points, was curiously timid on others. Its reluctance to say anything that could be interpreted as a criticism of any Allied Government exposed it to the banter of Albert Thomas, who remarked that it was an old habit, and perhaps not a bad one, of the Socialists of western Europe to give their Governments hints and pushes now and then. The Americans, too, abstained from voting on the question of the refusal of passports to labor representatives, on the ground that such action by European Governments was no concern of theirs; and this, too, although it had actually prevented their own Federation from receiving and hearing a delegate appointed by the British Trades Union Congress.

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Speech of Prince Maximilian of Baden

THE following report of a speech by Prince Maximilian of Baden is taken from the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of August 23.

On the occasion of the centennial celebration of the Constitution of Baden an address to the Grand Duke was pronounced by Prince Max of Baden, president of the Chamber. He spoke in praise of the statesmanlike thought and courage which stood behind the great act of faith of 1818 and withstood the anxious warnings of those who were unwilling to risk the leap in the dark. Grand Duke Karl, who issued the Constitution, and his Government recognized that the wounds of the long and terrible war could be closed only if the healing energies of the people themselves could be successfully stimulated through a strong and upright political life. Prince Max laid down as the basis of a strong popular state the obligation of the state to respect human worth and the personal freedom of individuals, and the obligation of individuals to sacrifice themselves to the utmost for the good of the whole. To-day, the demand for an external development of strength carries with it at the same time the demand for inner freedom. . . . .

The Prince then turned to the Grand Duke and expressed his hope that the Baden Government would continue to have the courageous faith needed to show how the advancement and coöperation of all right-thinking people may be made possible. It was not granted to your Royal Highness to continue the works of peace so beneficently begun during your reign. The war came with its imperious and inexorable claims. It laid upon your Royal Highness the heaviest of all tasks for a ruler, that of leading a loyal and warmly loved people through trouble and suffering. The war has dug deep, and has brought forth treasures of spiritual strength in our people which before the war many sceptics believed existed only in the heroic past. But every previous long and hard war has also brought in its train moral disorders. It would be rash to suppose that any warring nation could remain unaffected. These dangers threaten us also, but they can be exorcised if the spiritual leaders remain conscious of their task, and in Plato's sense are guardians and physicians of the people's soul. Ill would it be for nations which believed that they should drop the torch of Christian sentiment during the war with the hope of being able to raise it again, still living and splendid, after the war. Such a land would have lost its position as a torch-bearer of civilization (*Gessittung*). In every country there are demagogues who are little troubled by this consideration; indeed, the enemy Governments regard it as their national task to carry the feelings of hate and revenge over into the time of peace, and to fasten them upon us through agreements which would make the coming peace a continuation, with changed methods, of the war. Truly, he would be a bad adviser of the German people who should call upon us to follow the example of Clemenceau and Lloyd George, with their new heathenism. So it is comforting for us to know that your Royal Highness, true to the great maternal example of our honored Grand Duchess Louise, regards it as the task of all the leading forces of Germany in time of war loyally to guard those moral values, chosen and proved in the spiritual conflicts of a thousand years, in which in peace we believed with every fibre of our being. Our temper and our historical development show us the way to this guardian rôle. The constitution of Germany makes for deliberation. We are not obliged to regard every passing wave of popular passion, every oscillation of feeling, as an infallible revelation of the people's will to which we sacrifice our conscience. Mob rule, lynch law, the boycotting of those who differ in opinion, pogroms against foreigners, and whatever else the despotic customs of Western democracies may be called, will, we may hope, always remain as alien to us as to our language.

It may be that the English, French, and Americans really believe in a caricature of Germany which their propaganda of incitement pictures to them. We know our enemies as they are not willing to know us. We have the power to discriminate; therefore we are free to judge justly and not to fail to note when, in response to outbursts of a rougher and more vulgar spirit on the part of our foes, an indignant protest rises from their own peoples. Such freedom of judgment was not always given to us. We had to struggle through and to overcome in century-long fraternal strife the period of intolerance. The settling of the internal differences of state and religion in Germany has been, on a small scale, a moral preparation for the league of nations; yet there have been long periods in our history when the gathering of all the proud and self-willed peoples into one great voluntary national union appeared as Utopian as it now appears to believe that the day will come when the peoples who fight, hate, and suffer will come together in a great human partnership—something which never yet has been, but which is demanded by the religious conscience of all peoples. and in Germany especially by our greatest thinker, Immanuel Kant. Yet the success of a unified German empire was possible only because belief in this ideal was never quite extinguished even in the dark periods of German history. So to those who carry in their hearts the high aims of a federation of peoples we might cry to-day: "Do not lose faith in your great hope, however contemptible the present temper of our enemies may make the term 'league of nations' appear to us!"

The war in England, France, and America is more shameless now than ever; the demand for extermination is still heard. The old illusions, long since dispelled, return once more, but they will again disappear. We do not need exhortations to unity. Every act, every speech of a hostile Government, closes our ranks. The storm which threatens our national life is heavy and long-continued. Who doubts that we shall victoriously withstand it? The Baden First Chamber thanks your Royal Highness that it can here testify to the thought of German freedom as it lives in our history. To-day it repeats with emotion the oath of unshaken allegiance to its *Landesherr*. May Almighty God hold His protecting hand over your Royal Highness, over our beloved Baden home and the whole Baden people!

The
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Documents

French Socialist Resolutions

THE National Council of the Socialist Party of France had before it three sets of resolutions. The Longuet resolutions, representing the so-called "minority" Socialists, the revolutionary or International wing of the party, received 1,554 votes. The Renaudel resolutions, representing the "majority," or moderates, hitherto controlled by the party executive, received 1,172 votes, 700 of which, however, were cast by the executive as proxy for the invaded districts of northern France without, of course, a mandate from their party constituents. Measured by votes, the former minority thus became the majority. The Loriot resolution, representing the extreme Left, received 152 votes. The numerical strength of the radical element is shown by contrasting the Longuet and Loriot votes, 1,696, with the actual Renaudel vote of about 472—1,172 less the 700 cast by proxy.

1. Longuet, or Minority, Resolutions

On the threshold of the fifth year of the war, the National Council recalls that in each of its manifestos since the month of August, 1914, the Socialist party has declared itself resolved to insure the complete defence of the nation. In spite of imperialist aspirations, weakenings, or Governmental errors, it renews the affirmation of its united purpose not to abandon the formal decisions made by it on this matter at all its meetings.

But it is obliged to call attention at this time to the fact that the political, diplomatic, or military mistakes piled up by those in authority have been disastrous to the country and to all humanity.

The Government which refused to grant free passage to Stockholm is the same which, early in 1917, rejected peace propositions which merited serious examination. And that which now holds power, obeying the worst reactionaries, has been able to add nothing but a serious military defeat to the internal attacks upon all forms of liberty, to capitulation before the abettors of "coups d'état," and to violence against the working class.

It is only at the cost of the most terrible sacrifices and thanks to the incomparable courage of our soldiers that a compromise situation has been reëstablished.

The National Council demands of the French Government the revision of war aims, a repudiation of imperialist leanings, and a clear and precise exposition of our conditions of peace on the bases defined by the Russian revolution and by President Wilson, whose general ideas on war and peace have been ratified by the London conference of February 20, 1918, at which the authorized representatives of all the Socialist and labor organizations of the Entente were present. In particular, the National Council demands that the conditions of a league of nations in the same terms and in the spirit indicated by the President of the United States be immediately prepared.

It reminds the workers that a definite peace can be assured only by the establishment of the Socialist régime, capitalistic society being essentially a régime of disorder, arbitrariness, and violence.

The Socialist party renews its complete and unreserved adherence to the meeting of an international congress.

It declares itself ready to answer the call of Citizens Huysmans, Branting, and Troelstra, instructed by the Inter-Allied Conference at London to organize this conference.

The National Council affirms its purpose to obtain complete liberty of national and international action for labor organizations and the Socialist party.

The granting of passports having become, through the action of Governments, an Inter-Allied question, the National Council decides to use, in accord with the labor and Socialist organizations of the Entente countries, all the means in its power to obtain them.

On its part, it charges its elected representatives to take vigorous parliamentary action before going so far as to refuse military credits; it will give its entire support to the General Confederation of Labor in carrying out the decision made at the Congress of July 18, 1918.

The National Council declares that Socialism can under no pretext favor projects for a Russian counter-revolution.

It declares that the greatest circumspection is needed in the extremely troubled state in which that country now finds itself. It protests against all Allied intervention which would take sides against the Russian Socialists and impair the right of the Russian people to administer their affairs in their own way.

In any case it would subordinate any intervention to the unanimous consent of Russian Socialism, without which such intervention could only injure the interests of France.

The National Council notes with the most lively regret the recent declaration of those members of the parliamentary group who, contrary to the most explicit decisions of all the national sections of Inter-Allied Socialism, took sides with the American Federation of Labor in open opposition to these decisions.

Every militant of any sort has the right to urge his preferences within the party, but it is not tolerable that elected representatives or militants should carry on a violent campaign or systematically oppose the letter and spirit of our national and international congress and councils.

The National Council condemns such an attitude and reminds all the militants and federations of the necessity, more imperative than ever before, of discipline and unity of action in the Socialist party.

2. Renaudel, or Majority, Resolutions

The National Council declares that the general rules of its action remain fixed, from the point of view of the national defence, by the resolution of the Bordeaux congress; from the international point of view, by the London memorandum, all the consequences of which the Council accepts as much because of the conditions of a just and ordered peace in the society of nations as because of the situation arising from the approach of an international conference.

As to the international conference which Citizens Huysmans, Branting, and Troelstra will have to call as soon as they shall have assured themselves that the conditions fixed by the memorandum have been realized, the Council declares that the party is resolved to obtain, as it indicated at the Bordeaux congress, full liberty of international action.

The party unites its effort in this respect with that of the General Confederation of Labor; and as the question of passports has become, by reason of Government refusals, an international question, it demands that the allied Socialist parties examine the means of bringing Governments to an accommodation, and concert among themselves how to employ simultaneously political and economic action on the part of the working classes, from proletarian demonstrations, foreseen by the confederated congress, to a possible refusal of credits, as to which last the Bordeaux resolution is especially valuable. The present congress regards this vote, during the war, as the very symbol of national defence, and contemplates a refusal of credits only if the Socialist party, after considering the matter, should decide that it ought to refuse its support to the Government because of imperialism, or treason in the face of the enemy, or offences or crimes against the republican régime.

As to that which concerns the intervention of the Allies in Russia, the Council recognizes that such intervention is useful, both in the struggle against German imperialism and in the destruction of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which is a treaty of spoliation and violence.

But in the extremely troubled state in which Russia finds itself the greatest circumspection is necessary so long as the legal representatives of Russia, that is to say, the electors of the Constituent Assembly, have not clearly expressed their sentiments.

In any case, the Socialist party will approve of such intervention only if it shall fulfil the following conditions: first, it shall take place only in the name of all the Allies and with the concurrence of all; second, it should not serve in any degree the interest of the counter-revolution; third, it shall have for its one aim to protect the independence of the Russian people and insure them the free disposal of their own destiny.

In what relates to things done outside of the party decisions, the Council notes that there are grave inconveniences in independent manifestations, whatever they may be, and that the gravity of events calls always for a course which shall facilitate common action, whenever the policy of the party has been regularly defined by its congresses.

At the moment when the party finds itself engaged in a most violent struggle against the attempts at a reactionary social policy which are the work of the Clemenceau Government, and which show themselves in certain political proceedings in the courts; at the moment when it is necessary to give precision to a foreign policy too often uncertain and dangerous, unity in maintaining the general lines of party action as previously laid down continues to be the most precious good for the party; and the National Council counts upon all the militants and all the federations to rid

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their efforts of all the differences which the opponents of Socialism have always sought to exploit without regard for the true interests of France, in order that the Socialist party may not abandon its proper course.

3. Loriot Resolutions

The National Council, denouncing the party truce in virtue of which reaction has developed and which imposes upon the country its liberty-destroying methods, and recognizing the impossibility of ending the war by coöperation with the bourgeois parties, resolves:

1. To return to its traditions of independent action and definite class struggle in national and international congresses, involving the refusal of military credits and opposition to all bourgeois Governments.

2. To intensify the effort of the masses for social revolution and peace.

The National Council, recognizing the efforts of the Soviets in favor of the emancipation of the proletariat in all countries; recognizing also that the violence with which they are reproached has been the subject of reproaches in the history of all revolutions, and that the state of enfeeblement and disorganization in Russia made it impossible for her either to delay peace or to continue resistance to German claims longer than she did, counts itself at one with the Government of the Soviets, and decides to oppose by every means in its power the intervention of the Allied armies in Russia, demanded by counter-revolutionaries of all shades of opinion.

President Wilson on Austria-Hungary. II.

Of the fourteen peace terms laid down by Mr. Wilson in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918, three referred to Austria-Hungary.

IX. A readjustment of the frontier of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Servia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

In his address to Congress on February 11, 1918, Mr. Wilson discussed the peace suggestions lately advanced by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

On the eighth of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the fifth of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the twenty-fourth, and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the eighth of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand, and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. [Here follows a discussion of Count von Hertling's reply.] In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey.

* * * * *

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes, and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own Empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must of course be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and

Fourth, that all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

In an address at Baltimore, April 6, 1918, Mr. Wilson condemned the German treaties with Russia and Rumania. Referring to the "military masters" of Germany he said:

Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a programme our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

To the proposal by Austria-Hungary of a non-binding peace discussion, the text of which was made public in this country on September 16, the following reply, dated September 17, addressed to the Swedish Minister at Washington and signed by Secretary Lansing, was given. The passage beginning "the Government of the United States feels" was separately made public on the 16th.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated September 16, communicating to me a note from the Imperial Government of Austro-Hungary, containing a proposal to the Governments of all the belligerent states to send delegates to a confidential and unbinding discussion on the basic principles for the conclusion of peace. Furthermore, it is proposed that the delegates would be charged to make known to one another the conception of their Governments regarding these principles and to receive analogous communications, as well as to request and give frank and candid explanations on all those points which need to be precisely defined.

In reply I beg to say that the substance of your communication has been submitted to the President, who now directs me to inform you that the Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace, and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain.

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Foreign Press

General Smuts on Peace Terms

IN view of the present discussion concerning terms of peace and the reception by the Allied Governments of the recent offer made by Germany, the following extract from a report in the London *Morning Post* of an address delivered at Newcastle-on-Tyne on September 12 by General Smuts of South Africa, a member of the British Imperial War Cabinet, is significant.

"Hitherto," he continued, "German peace moves have been either offensive insults to the rest of the world or dishonest and insincere tricks in order to spread a pacifist or defeatist spirit among us. This is why I distrust all international conferences. Do not let us play the game of the enemy. They have never yet told us what their conditions are. A condition precedent to peace is the evacuation and restoration of Belgium." He advised the Germans to avoid dirty peace offensives, and to deal fairly, honestly, and openly with us. The terms stated by President Wilson and the Prime Minister were still open, and if Germany thought she could get better terms as a basis for peace than those of January 5, 1918, she was very much mistaken. He would say to Germany: "Accept those terms as a basis. Then a Conference can be called. That is the way to get peace, and there is no other way. Accept those terms, and a reasonable peace need not be far off."

Labor at the Peace Conference

THE *Yorkshire Observer*—the influential Bradford paper with which the late Sir W. P. Byles was so long associated—criticises sharply the demand made by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference, at the instance of the American delegation, that the workers shall have direct official representation at the peace congress. "Why," it asks, "should any particular party or interest have special representation, and, if there is a good reason for this, how many claimants for similar consideration should we find to have such rights?" The same paper objects further to the companion proposition that a World Labor Conference shall be held at the same time and place as the Peace Congress, in order to test, by the daily reporting of its "direct official representatives," the doings of the Peace Congress of the nations, and presumably to direct or correct its acts from day to day. "It appears to us that the suggestion that world labor should sit in the gallery, as it were, with a six-chambered revolver pointed at the heads of the peace plenipotentiaries, to make sure that things go right from the point of view of that special class, is, to put it mildly, passing beyond the bounds of common sense."

The Financial Situation in France

UNDER date of September 3 the Paris correspondent of the London *Economist* writes:

Financially and economically speaking, the magnificent series of Allied victories that have characterized the seven or eight weeks since Marshal Foch took the offensive in the Aisne-Marne salient on July 18 have had a most satisfactory effect upon the country. A summary of the improved position during the month of August may not be out of place. The value of the franc has improved appreciably in nearly every direction, with the exception of Italy. Whereas, at the beginning of July, 143 French francs were asked in exchange for 100f. Swiss, by August 31 the equivalent had fallen to 127f. The 100 pesetas, which on July 1 were worth 157f., are now at 128¾. The pound sterling has dropped from 27f. 15c. to 26f. 25c. The market for Rentes has shown simultaneous improvement, both in breadth and in the price of the standard securities, the 3 per cent. having gained 3f. 15c. and the 4 per cent. 3f. 20c. since July 1. A very large quantity of the 5 per cent. issue, with which the market had been glutted for many months, has been absorbed by investors during the same period, and there is every reason to anticipate that this description will now soon begin to share in the general progress upwards. It is as yet impossible to obtain the figures showing the total amount of Treasury bonds sold during August, but that the amount obtained has been extremely satisfactory may be gathered from the fact that, as the last three weekly returns of the Banque de France show, the Treasury has not found it necessary to ask for any further advances from the bank during that period. Seeing that the needs of the Treasury have never been greater than they are at present, owing in part to the increasingly large expenditure required in respect of the rapidly growing American army in France, to say nothing of the requirements of the British army here and of the Republic's own forces, this fact speaks volumes. Additional satisfaction is to be found in the circumstance that the yield from taxation has also greatly increased during the past month.

With the month of September, the period has been reached when the issue of a further loan, judging from the experience of previous years, may be regarded as imminent. All the circumstances tend to confirm the belief that the new issue will not only be made on terms much more advantageous to the country, but will prove even more successful than the previous war issues made here. It will be remembered, perhaps, that when the present Finance Minister, M. Klotz, was called into office, he found the market gorged with the nominally 5 per cent. issue for which his predecessor, M. Ribot, was responsible. In the circumstances, another 5 per cent. issue was impossible, and the French Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged, while limiting his 1917 issue to a nominal 4 per cent. yield, to arrange for it to be issued at such a low price that the return really amounts to somewhere about 6 per cent. Having thus assured the immediate wants of the Treasury, it remained for M. Klotz to prepare the ground for the future.

This has been the task of the French Finance Minister during the past twelve months. His success may be summarized as follows: He secured the passage of his budget as a whole before the end of the half-year, and therefore brought the national finances back to their regular courses, which had been upset by the war. He has created new sources of revenue to meet the current requirements of the public debt. He constituted machinery for freeing the market from its dead weight of unabsorbed 5 per cent. Rentes, and also provided means for the redemption and extinction of that stock in due course. Lastly, by inducing the Chamber to renew the privilege of the Banque de France, he placed the central organ of the Republic's financial system in a position of assured safety. Other features of the French Finance Minister's work during the year have been the prominent part he has taken in the various international agreements that have been arrived at between the Allies for stabilizing the exchange, and in the conventions entered into between France and certain neutral countries in connection with advances for the benefit of the Republic.

M. Klotz has now the satisfaction, therefore, of knowing that the ground has been well prepared for any fresh war loan for which he may appeal. Although no official announcement has yet been made, even to the effect that any such issue is contemplated, its probability is taken for granted, and suggestions are being made for this issue. Now that the air is filled with signs of the coming victory, nothing should be spared in the way of intensive publicity to make the success of the coming issue exceed that of all its three predecessors. The success of the timid experiment made on the occasion of the last great national holiday on July 14, when over 110,000,000f. of National Defence Bonds were sold from booths erected in the Place de l'Opéra and other parts of Paris, proved the possibilities that lie in methods of this kind. It is urged that the methods adopted in the United States in connection with the Liberty Loans should be utilized here, and that appeals should be made direct in every French home for support for the new loan. Evidence that there is still an incalculable amount of hoarded money in the country is seen in the fact that the total note issue is now very nearly 29½ milliards of francs.

An Appreciation of Giolitti

ITALIAN newspapers have commented with some asperity upon a speech made in August by Signor Giolitti, the former Premier and for fourteen years the practical ruler of Italy, upon the occasion of his reëlection as President of the Cuneo Provincial Council. The following appreciation of Signor Giolitti, taken from an editorial in the London *Times*, is of interest in this connection.

There is no better judge of popular opinion in Italy than Signor Giolitti. It has been the study of his long lifetime, and he has studied it with profit. He bows to "historical necessity," as he said on a famous occasion, and he has a highly developed instinct which discerns when that necessity has arisen. In the months before Signor Salandra and Baron Sonnino decided that Italy must range herself with the Entente, his attitude was perplexing and, perhaps, perplexed. He retired from the Premiership in March, 1914, though he was at the head of a great majority in both Houses. In December he revealed Austria-Hungary's iniquitous proposals, made in August, 1913, for a joint attack upon Serbia and his prompt rejection of them. But a few weeks later he wrote the famous letter in which he suggested that, perhaps,

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"a good deal could be obtained without war," though at the same time he promised his support to the Government. The "neutralists" and the German agents made the fullest use of this document. In May, Prince Bülow and Baron von Macchio offered "a good deal" to buy Italy off, and their Italian friends and agents urgently advocated the advantages of a bargain. At the height of the crisis, Signor Giolitti emerged from his rural retirement and arrived in Rome, where three hundred Deputies ostentatiously called upon him. Five days later, the Salandra Ministry tendered their resignation. But public opinion was too strong. The King refused to accept it, and the day after their resumption of office Signor Giolitti—who had been unable to show himself in the streets—returned to his country retreat. The "defeatists" persisted in using his name to cover their unpatriotic intrigues, and until after Caporetto he asquiesced, or seemed to acquiesce, in this practice. At that moment of deep and general national emotion, he sent a patriotic telegram to the then Prime Minister, but on the same day his chief organ vehemently condemned "the idle and bellicose dreams" of its pro-Ally opponents. His speech, opportunely following the victories in France, accentuates the position he took up in October. In and out of Italy it will be accepted as a sure sign that, in his judgment, there is now no place for "defeatists" in Italian politics. And there could be no greater expert on such a point than he.

King-Making in Eastern Europe

THE following account of political conditions in Eastern Europe is taken from an article in the Munich *Post*, a clerical organ. The German text appeared in the New York *Volkszeitung* of October 10.

IN the East carpenters are very busy, thrones and gallows being the articles most in demand. The business of king-making is to be played in allegro tempo, and by the beginning of September Finland will have received her God-anointed ruler. Persistent negotiations with the Lithuanians are under way, in order to make the new kingdom ready at the same time with the enforced Mint-Measure-Weight-Tariff-Military conventions. It is the same in Poland, where the solution of the throne question and related problems is being worked at in the greatest haste. There remain Courland, in connection with which it is not yet known whether Livonia and Esthonia are without more ado to be counted parts of it—according to the Brest treaty they unquestionably still belong to Russia—and the Ukraine, which seems to be not yet quite ripe for German royal experiments. In any case, what is now being carried on in the East is the worst sort of mischief and a grave danger for the future of the German people.

All these thrones and thronelets which are to be erected there rest not on the people's will but on the might of German bayonets. The pretext that so and so many senates, state councils, national councils, etc., have handled the matter as representatives of their people need not be brought forward. It is, to put it very politely, an optical illusion. In every conquered country there are individuals, and whole layers of the population, too, who are inclined to make terms with the conqueror. It is not always personal interest which impels them; sometimes they also believe that they are serving aright the interests of their country in taking account of existing conditions. We know from the Napoleonic wars how far this adaptation to circumstances which we call "activism" can go. Princes and peoples submitted themselves willingly to the new power, the press welcomed it exultantly, deputations from Westphalia and other provinces came to Napoleon, who ordered them to give their lands the blessing of new constitutions.

When the Russians were in Galicia, the Czar had himself celebrated in Lemberg as liberator and uniter of all Ukranians. If the Russian rule in Galicia had lasted as long as that of the Germans has already lasted in Belgium and the Baltic provinces, Ruthenian activism would have had a quite different expansion. Indeed, who doubts that if the enemy had succeeded in marching into Germany from the East and West and in maintaining their military power here for years, a very pretty "activism" would have developed here at home?

On the eastern front the present situation is that a small part of the population coöperates with the German conqueror, while all the rest very naturally have no opportunity to express their contrary opinion. It reads very prettily when, for instance, a stout Old Finn in the Finnish Senate expresses the opinion that there is no need now to fear a bit of a *coup d'état*, since the Socialists are really extirpated. But among the peoples bordering on Russia the numerous middle-class democrats who have no wish for the erection of new monarchies, and those classes of the population which desire reunion with Russia, are in the same position as the Socialists. They all are unable to say anything, and their voice is not heard in the so-called voice of the people, which, on the contrary, is exclusively represented by those who appear to have the same desires as the foreign military commanders.

But one should not deceive oneself for a moment into thinking that this agreement is anything but apparent. In reality the activists want something quite different from what is wanted in Berlin. They want to create for their country as much independence and as much freedom from the pressure of the occupation as is possible under the circumstances, and their very elastic programme will change with the circumstances. In the East, in general, there are in reality no classes of the population on which German power can rely if matters once become serious.

A New British Labor Party

THE following account of the new Centre Labor party is taken from the *Manchester Guardian* of September 24.

The Manchester (Central) Branch of the Centre Labor party was established in Manchester on Saturday. The party secretary, Mr. Thomas F. Burns (who also holds the position of organizing secretary of the Catholic Federation), explained that membership was open to all persons who were prepared to subscribe to the objects of the party, irrespective of creed, sex, or class, but ocialists and non-trade unionists who were eligible for trade unionism would be excluded. The party was the outcome of the recent failure of the Derby Trades Union Congress to protect non-Socialist trade unionists from the socialization of the Labor party. It was called the Centre Labor party because it proposed to occupy a central position between capitalistic and socialistic excesses, and it would cater also for those people who had forsaken their allegiance to the Conservative and Liberal parties, who were sympathetic to labor, but who, like the non- ocialist trade unionists, were unable to express themselves politically through Socialist channels, and for those people who had abandoned politics in disgust. The party would give political expression to the workers' requirements on the lines of Christian democracy as opposed to social democracy, and as determined in annual conference of the party, with due regard paid to the findings of trade-union congresses. It would regard the increased purchasing power of the workers as the vital necessity, and would refuse to accept any state provision as a substitute for increasing wages; it would work for the liberties of religions, individuals, constituencies, and nations; oppose moral and political corruption in all its aspects; and oppose the State monopoly of teaching. The party would be based on individual membership, would establish itself in each constituency as occasion arose, and would run candidates in every constituency where there was a reasonable prospect of success.

An Irish View of Labor Politics

THE *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin) of September 25, in an editorial on the recent railway strike in Wales, says:

Those who have been watching the developments of opinion in the labor world cannot have failed to notice a general waning of confidence in the old leaders. And it is not difficult to define some of the causes of this dangerous change. Undoubtedly it is largely due to the close association of some of those leaders with a Government that the masses have come to regard, and not without reason, as a reactionary Government. The distrust has been steadily growing. Before the advent of the Coalition it scarcely existed. But the faith of the people in the professions and real aims of the Coalition has been steadily undermined by the Government itself. Ambiguity and uncertainty have been allowed to cloud the war aims of the Allies. At home a propaganda for the disruption of the labor movement and the Labor party has been organized and financed under the patronage of the Government, with the view of capturing the seats of authority during the critical years that will follow immediately upon the conclusion of peace. Nor has the treatment of Ireland been without its reactions in the labor world. Ireland has been an object lesson in the dominant principles and purposes of the Coalition. All the measures by which Ireland was driven out of the alliance and the forces of constitutionalism weakened and dissipated have been followed with growing indignation by the more intelligent organized workers of Great Britain. . . . Mention of the Irish Labor Day in any congress of British workers now evokes a display of the stormiest enthusiasm. The British worker has realized a lesson that he ought to have learned years ago, that the coercionist of Ireland is the heart enemy of democracy everywhere, whatever time-serving lip-service he may pay to the principle in Great Britain.

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In these troubles, therefore, Great Britain is paying part of the price that will have to be paid for the political intrigue that substituted a reactionary for a democratic Government as the conductors of a war "to make the world safe for democracy." The presence of labor members in the Ministry has not checked in the smallest degree the reactionary tendencies of that Government. The little finger of Sir Edward Carson, though no longer a nominal member of the Government, is stronger than the loins of Mr. Barnes, Mr. Roberts, and all the other right honorable labor leaders. When Mr. Henderson took his duty to the democracy seriously, he was first confined to the door-mat, and then unceremoniously shown downstairs. Those of his colleagues who remained behind him, and those who succeeded him, have taken the lesson meekly to heart. The result has been a Coercionist-Tory régime, and a steadily swelling wave of disgust and distrust through the ranks and files of labor.

Manufacturers and Research

AN interesting movement looking towards the organization of scientific research for the benefit of Canadian manufacturers is commented upon by *Canadian Finance* (Winnipeg) in its issue of September 18.

Canadian manufacturers as a class can scarcely plead "not guilty" to the charge of having thought too much of tariff protection in the past, and too little of improved scientific methods. According to the first annual report of the Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, not two per cent. of Canadian industrial concerns have research laboratories and only about ten per cent. have routing laboratories, chiefly for the elementary testing of materials.

"The provision for research," says Dr. Macallum, the Council's chairman, "either in pure science or in science applied to industry has been and is utterly inadequate to our needs, and unless vigorous action be taken, and soon, to reorganize our industries on scientific lines wherever possible, Canada will face a very serious industrial crisis in the years following the war."

Dr. Macallum recommends the establishment at Ottawa or some other centre of a research institute having the function of the Bureau of Standards at Washington or of the National Physical Laboratory of Great Britain. Attached to the institute it is suggested should be laboratories that may be founded by the various Canadian industries when companies are unable individually to undertake experimental investigation for the improving of their manufacturing processes. Splendid results have already been achieved in England since the war began through Government-assisted industrial research. The British Parliament has voted one million pounds for a five-year budget for this purpose. In Canada the Parliamentary appropriation to assist the work of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research is absurdly small, as *Canadian Finance* has more than once insisted.

National Bias in Music

IN an article in the Birmingham *Post* (September 2) Ernest Newman, one of the leading English musical critics, discusses the question of national bias in music. He warns his fellow-countrymen that, now that they are in the way to become free from their old-time slavery to German music, they must be careful not to become slaves to the music of any other country. The only sensible thing for them to do is to keep an open mind and an open ear for the music of every nation. The fact that they are at war with Germany will not alter the permanent value of really good German music; their alliance with France will not make French music one whit better, in the eyes of the next generation, than as if this war had never happened. Two useful adages should be remembered—that there is nothing new under the sun, and that threatened men live long. We talk a great deal nowadays about German sentimentality. But this sort of talk is as old as the hills, and the inherent bias of German music in that direction has not prevented it from achieving some of its greatest wonders. "Meanwhile," concludes Mr. Newman,

it is the business of criticism to be impartial. Every nation, as Romain Rolland has said, has its "national lie" in art. No one in these days can be in any doubt as to what the national lie is in German music. But French music also, as Rolland showed, has its national lie. All this would have merely a detached intellectual interest were it not that there is just a danger of some of the weaker-minded of our composers and our music-lovers simply exchanging the German lie for the French lie, German fetters for French fetters.

Notes

SINCE the note from President Wilson and the speeches of Secretary Balfour and Premier Clemenceau rejecting the Austro-Hungarian peace offer of September 14, reports of continued activities in behalf of peace have appeared almost daily in the press. A dispatch from Paris on September 18 stated that the rumored offer of a separate peace made by Germany to Belgium had been refused by the Belgian Government after consultation with the Allies. A special Paris cable to the New York *Times* stated that the proposals originated in representations made by von Hintze and von Hertling through the medium of a "highly placed unofficial German personage" to the Belgian Minister at Berne. The terms were said to provide that Belgium should remain neutral until the end of the war, that pre-war commercial treaties should be put into operation, and that Belgium should use its good offices to secure the return of German colonies. On the following day, September 19, a dispatch from Rome reported that the Pope was willing, if diplomatic representations were received from one group of belligerents, to inquire if the opposing group would be willing to receive such representations. On September 20 an official statement from Vienna announced that the Austro-Hungarian offer was still open. In an important interview with Theodor Wolff, in the Berlin *Tageblatt* of September 23, Baron Burian was quoted as saying that the extraordinary promptness of President Wilson's reply to Austria showed his desire to anticipate the other Entente Governments and to prevent an agreement between Great Britain and France. He further declared that the unfavorable response to the offer of peace would not prevent further steps in the same direction on the part of Austria and its Allies. Following this statement the German Majority Socialists, on September 24, made public the terms on which they would consent to enter a new German Ministry. They demanded that Germany adhere to the Reichstag Majority peace resolution, consent to a league of nations, restore Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, indemnify Belgium, evacuate the conquered territories in the East, and grant autonomy to Alsace-Lorraine. In a speech before the Reichstag Main Committee on September 25, Foreign Secretary von Hintze announced the Government's approval of the Austrian peace note and enlarged upon Germany's repeated efforts and present readiness for peace. A dispatch from Paris on September 26 reported Sofia under martial law, the Bulgarian Cabinet sitting in continuous session, and King Ferdinand in consultation with Premier Malinoff. Two days later Bulgaria asked for an armistice, and on September 30 a dispatch from Paris announced that "an armistice has been concluded between the Allies and Bulgaria on the Allies' own terms."

A CABLE to the *Christian Science Monitor* from The Hague on September 29 reported that the Government of Austria-Hungary had sent word to the Dutch Foreign Minister that it would be gratified if a royal residence were placed at the disposal of conferences of the character aimed at in the Austro-Hungarian note to the belligerents on September 14. The Dutch Minister replied that the Queen would be glad to offer her residence for discussions in which both belligerents took part, and that he had communicated the Austro-Hungarian request and the reply to the Governments concerned. The next day a Vienna dispatch reported the introduction of a motion in the Austrian Lower House by Neumann, a Liberal, empowering the President of the Chamber of Deputies to invite the presidents and vice-presidents of the Parliaments of belligerent and neutral states to a non-binding conference on peace terms. A cable dispatch from The Hague of the same date reported a statement "from a highly authoritative source" that the Turkish Government had already asked for an armistice, while on October 2 the London *Standard* stated that Turkey continued to make indirect approaches to the Allies through financial channels. On October 1 a dispatch to the London *Daily Express* from Amsterdam published a statement of the military secretary to Baron von Falkenhausen, the German governor of Belgium, that plans were complete for the early evacuation of Belgium "if it should be found necessary." A semi-official dispatch from Vienna on the same day contained the statement that President Wilson's latest speech (September 27) had opened fresh ground for peace discussion "which," it said, "is the main thing," and that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Parliament must continue to labor for peace. The following day a "peace cabinet" was reported to have been formed in Bulgaria, headed by Premier Malinoff and Dr. Ghenadieff, the latter of whom was recently released from prison by King Ferdinand. On October 3 Prince Maximilian of Baden was appointed Imperial German Chancellor. A Vienna dispatch of the same date reported a debate in the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, in the course of which the Socialist members demanded peace on terms similar to those issued by the German Socialists. The Vienna correspondent of the Berlin *Tageblatt* announced on October 4 that a

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Hungarian delegation, composed of Premier Wekerle, Count Stephen Tisza, and Count Julius Andrassy, former premiers, and Count Albert Apponyi, Hungarian Minister of Instruction, had arrived at Vienna to discuss peace. It was also stated that Austria-Hungary had requested Holland to invite the belligerents to take part in peace negotiations, but the Secretary of the Netherlands legation at Washington announced that no word concerning such a request had been received by the legation. On October 6 Germany's peace offer to the Allies was announced by Prince Maximilian.

THE destruction of an Austrian fleet at Durazzo on October 2, together with the continuance of successful military operations by the Italians in the north, calls attention again to the peculiar position of Albania. The London Ambassadorial Conference of 1912 recognized Albania as an autonomous state and fixed its approximate boundaries, while the Ambassadorial Conference of 1913 provided for the creation of an International Commission of Control to advise and support the ruling Prince. The withdrawal of the Prince and most of the members of the Commission in 1914, after the outbreak of war, left Albania without a Government, and in 1916 the Austrians, who had overrun the country, occupied Durazzo. By the secret treaty of London, April 26, 1915, under which Italy entered the war, the foreign relations of Albania were to be controlled by Italy in case an autonomous government was restored. Eventually, however, the country was to be dismembered, the north going to Serbia and the south to Greece, while Italy was to hold Valona in perpetuity and enjoy a protectorate over a small central region which was to be formed into a Mohammedan principality. The French, however, instead of Greece under Constantine, occupied the south, proclaimed the independence of an Albanian Republic, and set up a native civil administration. The Albanian Republic has now been suppressed and a Greek administration has taken its place. Italy, meantime, has not renounced its claims, and the claims of the Jugoslavs continue to be pressed. The London *Nation* points out that, whether the purpose is to make the area of the Italian protectorate as small as possible, or to reward the Venezelist Greeks for their adhesion to the Allies, "the rights of the Albanian nation, secured as a perpetually independent and neutral state by the Conference of London in 1912, are in the gravest danger."

THE bitter attacks upon Romain Rolland, the author of "Jean Christophe," especially that by a Madame Hildebrand in a pamphlet entitled "Romain Rolland, Initiateur du Défaitisme," have brought out a number of replies from Madame Rodin, Charles-Baudouin, H. Fernau, and others. Fernau, in an interview with Rolland, published in *Das Leben und Wissen,* attempts to make clear the present position of the French novelist. Rolland, he declares, takes the republican point of view, but will not accept the label of any party or theory. His so-called defeatism Rolland ascribes to his warning that "to destroy the monster of war and militarism more is necessary than a victorious war, for every military victory carries with it danger for freedom." The worst enemy is Prussian absolutism, but German freedom must be the work of Germany herself and must come by her own revolutionary act. The weapons of the Entente can indeed help, but they should in no wise dictate Germany's freedom. As such a revolution has not yet taken place, the war must be energetically continued. A lasting peace can subsist only between such a German democracy and other democracies. "As a Frenchman and a republican," Rolland is quoted as saying, "I do not wish to see France under any circumstances fill the rôle of Prussia. . . . Bochomania is in general and in particular disgusting to me. There is a Germany which we must love and respect, which is not dead in spite of war and suppression, and the maintenance of which is a part of the future harmony of peoples. . . . If the military victory of the Entente is not at the same time a pledge of the rise and rule of nobler thought and of a social reshaping, then it is fruitless."

THE economic side of the war, in its legal as well as practical aspects, is the subject of a careful article entitled "The Economic War," in the *Revue de Paris* for September 1. The author, who writes over the signature "A. T.", discusses blockade and contraband; the feeding of the Central Powers; the restriction of neutral trade, especially through the creation of the Netherlands Overseas Trust and the establishment of a rationing system, and the effect upon the blockade of the opening of the eastern frontier to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

THE National Association for Economic Expansion, a French organization, has lately published in six volumes the results of a study, made during 1916 and 1917, of production and foreign competition in France immediately before and during the war. A summary of the report, in one volume, has also been issued. The summary, intended to be an annual publication, has appeared in French, English, and Spanish.

THE question of the formation of a league of nations continues to occupy a large place in the news. At least two European Governments have taken steps to formulate plans for such a league. In Switzerland, Professor Huber, of the University of Zurich, has been charged with an examination of the question, and his conclusions are to be referred to a special commission and ultimately reported to the Federal Parliament. President Calonder, addressing the Swiss Bundesrat early in September, spoke at some length of the special relation to a league of nations of Switzerland, "whose ideal of humanity was entirely federative, not cosmopolitan." A French commission, formed during the Ribot Ministry under Léon Bourgeois, has prepared a report, the text of which has not yet been made public. The Erzberger plan, given to the press on September 23 in the form of extracts and summaries from a forthcoming book, was followed on the twenty-sixth by an article by Albert Thomas, the French Socialist leader, in the London *Chronicle,* and on the twenty-seventh by a published interview with Lord Robert Cecil. Of Mr. Asquith's speech on September 27 before the National Liberal Federation, in which he is reported to have outlined his own plan for a league of nations, a detailed account has not yet reached this country. The latest proposed constitution for a league is that put out by the British League of Nations Society, with a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. Dickinson, M.P., chairman of the London Liberal Federation, who initiated the discussion of the subject in the House of Commons on August 1. This plan provides not only for a court and a council of conciliation, but also for a permanent administrative committee, the latter to be appointed by a triennial international conference made up roughly in proportion to the population of the various States in the league. The conference is also to appoint international judges and to propose to the States drafts of international laws. President Wilson, in his New York speech of September 27, insisted that the formation of a league of nations should be coincident with the peace settlement itself, and should be inclusive and not exclusive in its membership. Mr. Balfour, speaking at the Guildhall three days later, expressed his agreement with the first of the above points, and emphasized the necessity of affording the league an opportunity to succeed by giving it "a clean slate" in the form of a free opportunity of development for all the nationalities of Europe and Asia. The statement of Prince Maximilian of Baden, the new Imperial German Chancellor, on October 5, declaring the willingness of Germany to "join a general league of nations based on the foundation of equal rights for all, both strong and weak," was in effect a reply to the statements of President Wilson and Mr. Balfour. On October 10 it was reported that Dr. Solf, the new German Foreign Minister, was about to appoint a committee of the Reichstag to elaborate a scheme for a league of nations.

THE holding of the London Conference has evidently made no difference to the position of British labor, whose majority and minority attitudes toward questions of international policy remain as they were before. But it has brought out, very notably, the breach between Continental labor and the American Federation. The absence of the Official Italian Socialists was eloquent in itself. It becomes the more so when one notes that in their refusal to attend they placed in the forefront their objection to any conference called at the request of Mr. Gompers and his colleagues. From France, too, came a distinct rebuff, for the representatives of the Confédération Générale du Travail united with both the Majority and Minority Socialists in protesting against an American delegation which, while including the Labor Federation, excluded the American Socialists. One can hardly suppose, either, that the general attitude of the French representatives on the questions discussed can have been very acceptable to Mr. Gompers and his associates.

WHAT, precisely, has Samuel Gompers gained by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference recently held in London at his request? A correspondent who was present at the greater part of the sessions sends us the following estimate. In some British papers, he says, it has been represented as a triumph for the Americans that they secured the incorporation, in the war aims declaration, of President Wilson's "fourteen points" and certain other proposals of their own. The modification, however, was more one of form than of substance. It was claimed by British delegates—not from the minority section only—that even the "fourteen points" were only a boiled-down edition of the British Labor party's draft published the month before he spoke. It was pointed out, too, that much of the work of the Conference was only the reaffirmation of what had been settled in February, and that the time spent on it might have been saved if American delegates had attended then. On the main issue—the meeting of enemy Socialists—for the sake of which Mr. Gompers, it is understood, wished the Conference to be called, he suffered a defeat. His own proposal on the subject "would, of course," comments the *Manchester Guardian,* "have put a final stop to the hope of reviving the

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International or reconstituting any sort of relations between organized labor in the two camps. It was decisively defeated, and the ideal of 'Stockholm' is accordingly maintained."

IN some quarters the foreign tour of Mr. Gompers was advertised in advance as a missionary campaign to convert British labor from the error of its ways. How far that was from his own intention is evident from a study of his actual movements abroad. He spent over three weeks in the United Kingdom. During that time he did not, on a single occasion, come in touch with the rank and file of the British workers. He met the trades-union officials at the Derby Congress, and the executives of the Trades Union Congress and of the Labor party at the Inter-Allied Conference. He also addressed a meeting of delegates of the London Trades Council. He lunched with the War Cabinet at the Carlton Hotel, was entertained at the American Luncheon Club, visited the Washington Inn for American Officers, and even found time to witness a match and give an address at the National Sporting Club, the headquarters of British pugilism. But he did not once appear face to face with a popular gathering of bona-fide workingmen in any industrial centre. South Wales and the Clyde are sometimes described as hotbeds of British Bolshevism. Mr. Gompers did not venture into South Wales, and his visit to Glasgow was to address a miscellaneous meeting called by the War Aims Committee.

THE announced object of the British educational mission which is now visiting the United States is "to inquire into the best means of obtaining closer co-operation between British and American educational institutions to the end . . . of making increasingly firm the bonds of sympathy and understanding that now unite the English-speaking world." The members of the mission, representing the foremost universities in Great Britain, are Vice-Chancellor Arthur Everett Shipley, of the University of Cambridge; Vice-Chancellor Sir Henry Miers, of the University of Manchester; the Reverend Edward M. Walker, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Sir Henry Jones, professor of moral philosophy, University of Glasgow; Dr. John Joly, professor of geology and mineralogy in Trinity College, Dublin; Miss Rose Sedgwick and Miss Caroline Spurgeon. The mission will spend about two months in this country visiting the leading educational institutions.

A NATIONAL conference of British women, under the auspices of the Labor party, was called for October 15-16, at London, to discuss the political and economic status of women. The chief resolution which was to be presented called upon the Government to pass legislation enabling women to hold elective office and to enter the professions from which they are at present excluded. The programme of the conference included the consideration of a suggested amendment to the Representation of the People Act to enfranchise, subject to easy residential qualifications, all men and women of twenty-one years of age or over.

A DEMAND that British women who marry foreigners be allowed to retain their British nationality has been presented to the Home Secretary, Sir George Cave. The Home Secretary, in reply, informed the deputation that the Imperial Conference had provided for a committee to consider this and other questions of nationality, and expressed the opinion that a woman should be a member of the committee.

THE controversy between the Pope and the French Government over the proposal to send a papal nuncio to Peking is an interesting phase of the struggle between France, Germany, and the Vatican for influence in the Far East. The recent resumption of diplomatic relations with Portugal, together with the reported efforts to establish similar relations with Switzerland, have been regarded as indicative of a general policy on the part of the Vatican of extending its political activities. The nomination of a nuncio to Peking followed the accrediting of the Chinese Minister at Madrid to the Vatican also. The objections urged by France were, first, that the nuncio who had been selected, Monsignor Petrelli, was a pro-German and a friend of von Hintze; second, that, in view of the efforts which Germany has been making to maintain a foothold in China, any papal representative would be likely to fall under German influence; and, third, that France is of right the special protector of Christians in China. This latter claim appears to rest in part upon the treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, which promised protection to Christians without, however, recognizing any special right in the matter on the part of France; and more particularly upon the Peking convention of 1860, supplemented by an explanatory convention in 1865, which provided for the restoration through the French Minister in China of Christian churches and philanthropic institutions which had been confiscated. On the basis of these agreements France has in practice controlled the issuance of passports in China to travellers of all nationalities. Discussion of the question in French newspapers has made apparent the concern of France over the safety of its colonial interests in Indo-China, and its fear lest Roman Catholic missionaries in the Far East should look to a papal representative at Peking rather than to the diplomatic representative of France. The nomination of a nuncio has been withdrawn, and at this writing a new nomination has not been made. China, on its part, has informed the Allies that it will not receive any papal representative during the war, but that it will be ready to do so afterwards.

A REPORT on the natives of southwest Africa and their treatment by Germany, published as a blue book by the British Government, has given additional significance to the recent discussions on the part of both British and German officials regarding the future of German possessions in Africa and the Pacific In a statement made on September 12 General Smuts, Minister of Defence in the South African Ministry and a member of the British Imperial War Cabinet, recommended that German possessions be returned only when Germany "is run on the same lines as the British Empire." The same view was emphasized by Mr. Walter Long, British Colonial Secretary, in a recent address to the Australian press delegates, in which he declared against any immediate restoration of the German colonies. The Pacific Islands, he said, would not only provide Germany with raw materials, but would offer facilities for wireless, aeroplane and submarine stations. The peaceful development of the world requires the holding of the conquered territories until Germany proves a willingness to act "in conformity with the ordinary rules that govern nations in their treatment of natives and in their relations with other countries." In opposition to the views presented by General Smuts and Mr. Long, Dr. W. S. Solf, now the German Foreign Minister, was reported on October 2 to have renewed his demand for the return of all the colonies, as well as for a fresh partition of Africa in order to consolidate Germany's scattered possessions.

IN spite of the reported disorganization of the Soviet Republic, the work of building up the Russian Academy of Social Science seems to be progressing. The preliminary organization was undertaken at a meeting of the members of the Academy in August. The new institution will be housed in the building of the former Academy of Commerce at Moscow, and will have a valuable collection of books, including the libraries of the former Duma, the Council of State, and various private collections. The chief departmental divisions of the Academy include the history of civilization, finance and economics, law and politics, arts and literature, and a department of research, statistics, and commercial courses. The faculty includes scholars and Socialist leaders of various countries. Among the members already invited are Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Klara Zetkin, Franz Bauer, Fritz Adler, Romain Rolland, and Jean Longuet. Louis B. Boudin is the representative from the United States.

A MASS meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, on September 15, in behalf of the oppressed nationalities of Central Europe, has resulted in the organization at Washington, on October 3, of the Democratic Mid-European Union. The Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, Ukranians, Jugoslavs, Lithuanians, Finns, Rumanians, and Italians were represented, all the delegates except the Finns being drawn from national organizations. It is proposed to carry on, in common opposition to the Central Powers, educational work in the United States and abroad for the removal of racial and religious friction between the peoples concerned. Branches of the Union are to be organized in the larger cities, and there will be conferences at Washington every two weeks. Members of the diplomatic corps and of the State, War and Navy departments were present at the meeting, and Ambassador Jusserand sent a note expressing sympathy with the aims of the organization. The chairman of the Union is Prof. Thomas G. Masaryk. Prof. Herbert Adolphus Miller, the only American connected with the Union, is the director. In an address outlining the aims of the Union Professor Miller called for a "solid front of free united nations ranged in a mutually protective formation in a long sentry line from the Baltic to the Adriatic."

THE Commonwealth Club of California has recently undertaken, through a reorganized International Relations Committee, a systematic study of the war aims of the United States. The work is being carried on under the direction of Prof. Edgar E. Robinson, associate professor of American history in Leland Stanford Jr. University. Open diplomacy, secret diplomacy, the early diplomatic practice of the United States, the Senate debate on the Borah resolution, the diplomacy of the war from December, 1916, to August, 1918, and President Wilson's address of January 8, 1918, are among the subjects already discussed. The membership of the club exceeds 2,000.

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